

The Use of Iscamtho by Children in White City-Jabavu, Soweto:
Slang and Language Contact in an African Urban Context

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Abstract

The Use of Iscamtho by Children in White City-Jabavu, Soweto:

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The work presented in this thesis relies on language recordings gathered during thirty months of fieldwork in White City-Jabavu, Soweto. The data was collected from children between the ages of two and nine, following anthropological participant observation, and through the use of an audio recorder. Strong attention was given to the sociolinguistics and structure of the language collected.

This thesis is interested in issues of slang use among children and language contact, as part of the larger field of tsotsitaal studies. It is interested in: sociolinguistic issues of registers, slang, and style; and linguistic issues regarding the structural output of language contact. The main questions answered in the thesis concern whether children in White City use the local tsotsitaal, known as Iscamtho; and what particular kind of mixed variety supports their use of Iscamtho. Particularly, I focus on the prediction of the Matrix Language Frame model (Myers-Scotton 2002) regarding universal constraints on the output of language contact. This model was used previously to analyse Iscamtho use in Soweto.

Using methodologies from three different disciplinary fields (anthropology, sociolinguistics, and linguistics) as well as four different analytic perspectives (participatory, statistical, conversational, and structural), I offer a thorough sociolinguistic and linguistic description of the children's language. I demonstrate that the universal constraints previously identified do not apply to a significant part of the children's speech, due to stylistic and multilingual practices in the local linguistic community. I further demonstrate that style, slang, and deliberate variations in language, can produce some unpredictable and yet stable structural output of language contact, which contradicts the main hypotheses of universal natural constraints over this output formulated by the Matrix Language Frame model.

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List of Spelling features

The Spelling of Zulu:

A a B b C c D d E e F f G g H h I i J j K k L l M m
[a] [b/ɓ] [kɪ] [d] [e/ɛ] [f] [g] [h] [i] [dʒ] [k/kʰ] [l] [m]

N n O o P p Q q R r S s T t U u V v W w X x Y y Z z
[n] [o/ɔ] [pʰ] [kʰ] [r] [s] [tʰ] [u] [v] [w] [kɪl] [j] [z]

Explosive consonants are spelt by a combination of the spelling given above with an *-h*. Hence: *bh-*; *ph-*; *th-*; etc.

Clicks:

<i>plain</i>	<i>aspir.</i>	<i>voiced</i>	<i>nasal</i>	<i>voiced</i>	<i>nasal</i>	
c	ch	gc	nc	ngc		<i>alveolar central</i>
[kɪ]	[kɪʰ]	[gɪ]	[ŋɪ]	[ŋgɪ]		
x	xh	gx	nx	ngx		<i>alveolar lateral</i>
[kɪl]	[kɪlʰ]	[gɪl]	[ŋɪl]	[ŋgɪl]		
q	qh	gq	nq	ngq		<i>palatal</i>
[kʰ]	[kʰʰ]	[gʰ]	[ŋʰ]	[ŋgʰ]		

Some of the above clicks do not appear in the data, due to a process of sound change affecting clicks in Soweto. The alveolar central click is referred to in the thesis as ‘dental click.’

The spelling of Sotho:

Sotho’s vowel system is quite different from Zulu:

- The letter *o* may translate as: [u]; [ʊ]; [o]; [ɔ].
- The letter *e* may translate as: [ɪ]; [e]; [ɛ].
- The letter *a* always translates as: [a]

The different Sotho varieties (Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho and Tswana) have different spelling systems, but in the thesis, only the above system is used for vowels. Apart from this, the most notable trait of the Sotho data is that it features the use of the velar fricative [x]. It is represented in the data as *kg-*, according to Southern Sotho spelling.

Data in Sotho are transcribed in Tahoma police as to be easily distinguishable from Zulu data, which is transcribed in Times New Roman.

Others:

Some data in Afrikaans feature in the thesis. The most notable features are:

- double vowels mark a long sound (like *-aa-*);
- the velar fricative [x] also features. It is spelt *g-*.

Also, some sounds used in the Zulu data do not exist in Standard Zulu. These include the velar fricative [x] which will be spelt *kg-* in Zulu text. Also, the sign *rh-* is used to mark the uvular fricative [ʁ], which does not normally feature in White City Zulu, but is used sometimes in borrowings for a stylistic effect. Otherwise, English borrowings feature English phonology, apart from cases where the phonetics is specified.

List of Abbreviations

Afr.	Afrikaans
Eng.	English
N.Sotho	Northern Sotho
S.Sotho	Southern Sotho
SA	South Africa
SZ	Standard Zulu

List of Glossing Abbreviations

1s	First Person Singular
2s	Second Person Singular
1PL	First Person Plural
2PL	Second Person Plural
c1	Class 1 Prefix
c2	Class 2 Prefix
c3	Class 3 Prefix
c4	Class 4 Prefix
c5	Class 5 Prefix
c6	Class 6 Prefix
c8	Class 7 Prefix
c7	Class 8 Prefix
c9	Class 9 Prefix
c10	Class 10 Prefix
c17	Class 17 Prefix
ABS	Absolute Pronoun
ADJ	Adjective
ADV	Adverb/adverbial affix
ANT	Anterior Past (Perfect)
APPL	Applicative
AUX	Auxiliary
CAUS	Causative
CONJ	Conjunctive
COP	Copulative
COMPLEM	Complementizer
DEM	Demonstrative
DISJUNC	Disjunctive
DSC.MRK	Discourse Marker
EXCL	Exclamation
FUT	Future
FV	Final vowel

HORT	Hortative
IMP	Imperative
INSTR	Instrumental
ITIVE	Itive
NEG	Negative
NEG.MRK	Negative Marker
PAST	Past
PASS	Passive
PL	Plural
POS	Possessive
PRES	Present
PRON	Pronoun
PRONOM	Pronominalizer
REL	Relative
STAB	Stabilizer
SUBJ	Subjunctive
VENIT	Venitive

Note:

Zulu has two future auxiliaries, *-zo-* for immediate future, and *-yo-* for distant future. However, their meaning is not always clearly distinguished in White City, and their use might be inverted. Hence I have not distinguished them in the gloss. Translations bring clarification of meaning. Also, Zulu counts a particular kind of auxiliaries known as deficient verbs, which sometimes may be followed by a particular mood, such as the subjunctive. In order for non-Bantuists to understand the structure more easily, these deficient verbs are glossed as auxiliaries, which corresponds to their grammatical function.

To White City.

Where light shines among the shacks...



Chapter 1: Introduction

In 2007, as part of my MPhil in African Studies at Leiden University, I spent six months in White City-Jabavu, in central Soweto, to gather metalinguistic perceptions of young adults, in order to try to understand their experience of multilingualism. It became clear during my research that most speakers made a strong relation between their multilingualism and their use of the local informal language, known as Iscamtho (among other names). This PhD thesis is meant to help improve the understanding of South African informal urban languages, by focusing on the practices of children. In the data collected in 2007, many informants claimed to have been speaking Iscamtho since early childhood, and several claimed it as their first language. My PhD research was therefore directed at testing this claim, by focusing on the speech of children from three to nine years old, in order to verify whether they used Iscamtho, how, with whom and in what context.

Naming the object

Before starting the description of Iscamtho as an informal urban variety, it is necessary to identify accurately the object of the study. The issue of naming the studied variety needs to be addressed first.

Johannesburg has known for at least the last eighty years two different informal urban varieties. They are most often referred to as Tsotsitaal or Flaaitaal on the one hand, and as Iscamtho (sometimes Isicamtho or even Camtho) on the other. *Tsotsi* is a South African word for ‘thug,’ the origin of which is unclear, and *taal* is Afrikaans for language. The name Iscamtho seems to be derived from Xhosa *-camtha* ‘talk volubly,’ although Ntshangase (1993; 1995) prefers a possible origin in the Zulu equivalent *-qamunda*. Ntshangase (1993) distinguished two patterns of development in different criminal organisations, claiming that Iscamtho descended from an earlier Zulu gang argot known as Shalambombo, and that it has always been Bantu-based. On the other hand, Ntshangase sees Tsotsitaal as the variety that developed in Sophiatown and the larger Western Areas of Johannesburg (also comprising Newclare and Martindale), which was brought to Soweto via the forced removals of the mid-1950s, and which is always Afrikaans-based. Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1997) adopted the same view on Iscamtho, and this approach drove their linguistic analysis of the two varieties. They considered that all urban or criminal argots based on Afrikaans are Tsotsitaal, while all urban or criminal argots based on a Bantu language are Iscamtho. However,

Ntshangase's theory can certainly not be extended outside Soweto, as Slabbert and Myers-Scotton did in order to include in their study language material from Pretoria, or letters from prison inmates speaking gang argots.

The study of Tsotsitaal in Cape Town by Hurst (2008:20-23) stresses that the clear separation made by Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1997) between Iscamtho being Bantu-based and Tsotsitaal being Afrikaans-based should be restricted to Soweto. Indeed, the Xhosa-based variety of Cape Town is known as Tsotsitaal and is not referred to as Iscamtho. This is to be compared with Calteaux's work (1994) in Tembisa (north-east of Johannesburg) where two parallel varieties co-exist: one is Afrikaans-based and is known as Iscamtho, whereas the other is Tswana-based and is known as Tsotsitaal. The same situation was pointed out by Bembe (2008) in Pretoria. Rüdwick (2005) also, in the townships of Durban, studied a Zulu-based variety known as isiTsotsi, Zulu for Tsotsitaal, about which she states that "isiZulu is the matrix language and main lexifier of the Tsotsi variety displayed here and hence the language is lexically more similar to what Ntshangase (1995; 2002) previously referred to as Iscamtho." Such comments and the fact that Tembisa uses the opposite names to those used in Soweto, indicate that the relevance of Ntshangase's observations is much localised. Even in Soweto, Tsotsitaal is a name which can be used for Iscamtho, although people are aware of the difference between the local variety and the old Sophiatown variety. Hurst (2008:23) also casts doubts about the relevance of Soweto's Iscamtho originating only from Shalambombo: relying on Glaser (2000), she argues that cross-influences existed between and within gangs using an Afrikaans-based argot, and gangs using a Zulu-based argot. The distinction between the speakers of one or the other version of the criminal argot was based more on a contrast between certain urban or rural origins of gangsters, than on their geographic localisation or criminal affiliation.

I shall refer to the object of my analysis as Iscamtho for the sake of clarity in the academic debate, since it is the name that has been used so far to refer specifically to the Sowetan variety. The term Iscamtho is also accepted in Soweto across generations, and among speakers as well as non-speakers. However, other names have been used for several decades, such as Sekasi¹ or iRingas². The latter is more popular nowadays among teenagers.

The naming issue is not specific to Iscamtho, and there is much debate about what Tsotsitaal is,

¹ The 'township language' in a Sotho/Tswana form, with a class 7 prefix *se-*; from Afrikaans *lokasie* 'location', the official term used to designate the segregated urban residential areas reserved for Black, Coloured, and Indian people in colonial and apartheid South Africa.

² From English *ringers*, because people form a ring to chat.

what Iscamtho is and what a tsotsitaal is. Not all academics are aware of the distinction between the name Tsotsitaal and the noun tsotsitaal, as proposed by Mesthrie (2008:96). Any informal urban language in South Africa with a usage pattern (such as a male street language) comparable to that of the Sophiatown Tsotsitaal, might be considered to be ‘a tsotsitaal.’ Thus, it is common to hear people speak about ‘our tsotsitaal’ vs. ‘their tsotsitaal.’ Yet, there is no definite point of agreement on what characterises a tsotsitaal.

Defining the object

In order to identify whether children in White City make use of Iscamtho, it is first necessary to define Iscamtho so as to be able to identify it in the data. Previous studies of Iscamtho in Soweto stressed its changing nature. Childs (1997:344) points out “problems with a linguistic definition” due to “the extensive code-switching and code-mixing” and to “considerable variability.” Rather than defining Iscamtho from a linguistic perspective, Childs (1997:334-335) retains socio-linguistic aspects, stressing that “Iscamtho’s primary function [is] a separatist one, marking its speakers as urban, non-rural, hip, sophisticated” and that “it is spoken by young to middle-age male urban blacks outside the family to other males on all topics.” He also characterises Iscamtho as being

“used in informal situations with (intimate) peers. It is more likely to be used in places like shebeen and stokvels, on public transport, on the streets, and at parties. It is less likely to be used at home, school, or in church. It is used largely by working-class individuals and it is less likely to be used by their middle-class counterparts. It is more likely to be used by an urbanite man than by a rural dweller, and by young rather than old males. It can be used for almost any topic” (Childs 1997:346).

Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1997) also insisted on Iscamtho’s variability, and tried to show that this variability was predictable. The authors defined Iscamtho as a variety made up of code switching (Slabbert & Myers-Scotton 1997:329), hence using Iscamtho’s changing multilingual nature as its defining aspect. In this regard, they wrote that Iscamtho’s “structure conforms to that of patterns of code switching found in the same communities where [...] Iscamtho [is] spoken (e.g. Zulu/English or Sotho/English CS) and of CS patterns found elsewhere in the world.” Their analysis conforms to Myers-Scotton’s Matrix Language Frame model, which is presented and examined critically in Chapter 2.

Mesthrie (2008) tried to give a general account of South African tsotsitaals. In order to classify different urban varieties under one single phenomenon, Mesthrie (2008) stresses that it is necessary

to distinguish the style or slang making up of a tsotsitaal from the mixed urban variety that supports it. To Mesthrie, tsotsitaals are made of “a slang lexis (or jargon in one sense of this term) of urban South African origin that has penetrated the languages of the cities under various conditions” (Mesthrie 2008:101), and it is “prototypically a gendered lexicon, restricted to certain domains (prison or street)” (Mesthrie 2008:102). He adds that this slang lexis is used preferably in the most non-standard version of the urban language of which it is part. This perspective is different from that adopted by Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1997) or Childs (1997), according to whom Iscamtho was the mixed urban variety. Relying on Hurst (2008), Hurst and Mesthrie (2013:17) state that “tsotsitaal is not merely a special lexicon associated with a matrix language; but that it is inseparably linked to a particular ‘style,’ a performance and an identity tied to the language practices of speakers.” Following Hurst (2008), they propose the concept of stylect to refer to such a variety tied to stylistic performance. This perspective introduces the idea of strategy and ‘expressiveness’ in tsotsitaal studies.

Gunnink (2012) tried to draw a linguistic distinction between Soweto Zulu and Soweto Iscamtho (in Zulu). She concluded that “Sowetan Tsotsi cannot be analysed as code-switching, as it does not only consist of lexical and grammatical material that also exists in other languages; it has a grammatical structure of its own which is not the result of code-switching, as this grammar is unique to Sowetan Tsotsi” (Gunnink 2012:60). Gunnink observed especially prominent changes in noun classes, from class 1 to class 9, as well as a stylistic practice among teenagers, consisting of marking agreement with a noun from classes 2, 6 and 9, by a class-10 prefix on the adjective, the verb or the demonstrative (Gunnink 2012:54).

A more thorough discussion is presented in Chapter 3, but already it appears that there is no consensus on what constitutes Iscamtho. I should add that residents, speakers as well as non-speakers of Iscamtho, do not agree either on what Iscamtho is. Hence the first research question that must be addressed in this thesis is: how must Iscamtho in White City be defined? Is it a code-switching variety? Is it a slang lexis? Or is it a restructured form of Zulu with a grammatical structure of its own?

At this stage, Iscamtho can be differentiated from local Zulu and Sotho by the following examples:

Example 1.1:

Kodwa leya i-ya-**vay**-a uku-dlul-a leya
CONJ DEM.C5 C5-PRES.DISJUNC-GO-VF INF-SURPASS-VF DEM.C5
But this one goes better than that one

In Example 1.1, the sentence is in Zulu, but the verb *-vaya* ‘go’ is Iscamtho. Its equivalent in Zulu would be *-hamba*. Hence, the sentence was classified as Iscamtho by my assistant, and it counts as Iscamtho in the statistical analysis presented in Chapter 6. Yet all that differentiates this Iscamtho utterance from a Zulu utterance is the use of one word.

Example 1.2:

Si -yo -**bay**-a i-nyaope, e a bolay-a
3PL-FUT-BUY-VF C9-NYAOPÉ, C9 PRES.DISJUNC KILL-VF
We will buy nyaope³, it kills

In example 1.2, the first phrase is in Zulu, the second in Sotho. The verb *-baya* ‘buy’ is Iscamtho, although it is originally a borrowing from English. What justifies its classification as Iscamtho is its sociolinguistic value: this verb is not considered to be neutral or good language. Rather, it is perceived as Iscamtho slang by speakers and non-speakers of Iscamtho. The second phrase however does not contain slang.

Example 1.3:

Roba **san**!
HIT SON
Hit boy!

In Example 1.3, the sentence is in Sotho, but it is only made up of one verb in the imperative form, and one noun in the vocative form. This noun *san* ‘boy’ could also appear to be a borrowing from English *son*. Yet again, this borrowing does not have a neutral sociolinguistic value in local linguistic practices. Rather, it is considered to be part of Iscamtho, and it would not be accepted by any interlocutor.

The three examples above illustrate the nature of Iscamtho as a corpus of slang or neologistic terms, which are distinct from borrowings, even when they originate in an indentifiable language

³ A form of drug, common in Soweto.

that is different from the one used by a speaker. Furthermore, they illustrate the fact that the presence of one single term in a turn of speech can suffice to classify the turn as Iscamtho. Hence a person will be considered to be speaking Iscamtho if Iscamtho terms are used, even as mere discourse markers, and this even when other elements of syntax, language mix or pronunciation are identical to the accepted norm in local Zulu or Sotho. These examples stress the fact that a term may be perceived as Iscamtho, while it is a borrowing used with the same meaning as in the language from which it is borrowed. In that case, only the sociolinguistic value of the term justifies classifying it as Iscamtho, since this is how it is perceived and used. But the sociolinguistic value of a term may differ from one place to another. Thus Iscamtho appears to be a corpus of slang lexicon which is, for the most part, shared between speakers of Iscamtho across the country, but with variation as to the status of certain terms as either Iscamtho, or regular urban language. As such, the examples of Iscamtho given in this thesis should always be compared to examples from other fields before one can assume that a term is Iscamtho everywhere and for everyone. This fact explains why I had to rely on the perception of a local assistant, who knew the children being recorded, and not just on that of any Sowetan or any speaker of Iscamtho.

As will be shown clearly in the data, my assistant only considered as Iscamtho those sentences that actually contained Iscamtho lexicon. The main reason for this is that, as I will demonstrate, the local code-switching variety is used by everyone in White City, where it is a neutral register. Therefore, Iscamtho will be defined in this work as a corpus of lexical items, which belong to a low register of slang, or to style. But the present study cannot only focus on these lexical items: it is also necessary to analyse the larger variety in which Iscamtho terms are used, so that any hypothetical use of Iscamtho by the children can be contextualised. It is not only *what* words the children speak that matters, but *how* they speak them. Analysing the context of Iscamtho use by White City children means analysing the local urban variety supporting the use of Iscamtho, as well as potential instances of code switching characterising the children's speech. Furthermore, sociolinguistic considerations must be taken into account: where is speech produced? Who is it addressed to? Who is present around the children when speech is produced?

Describing the field

White City is part of Jabavu⁴, itself a township of what Sowetans refer to as ‘deep Soweto,’ or ‘deep Sotra’ in Iscamtho, which is the central part of the largest township in South Africa⁵. ‘Deep Soweto’ is distinguished from the historical locations of the eastern side of Soweto (Pimville, Orlando East, Orlando West) by its more remote position from Johannesburg. Also, ‘deep Soweto’ is where socio-political life was marked until the 1990s by more violence, from more crime and more violent political resistance among the 1970s and 1980s generations, than in any other part of Soweto – although the phenomenon was widespread. The other locations within Soweto that are part of ‘deep Soweto’ are Zola, Zondi, Jabulani, Naledi and Emdeni.

Aerial photograph of Soweto:



⁴ The township of Jabavu is divided between Central-, Western Central- and White City-Jabavu

⁵ Soweto is located in the south-west of Johannesburg, in the Province of Gauteng, about fifteen kilometres from the city.

On the above photograph, Johannesburg is to the North-East of Soweto, in the top right corner of the picture. The large agglomeration around White City-Jabavu is the larger Soweto.

White City is the very centre of Soweto. It is notorious for at least two reasons: on the one hand, its history of violence, and on the other, the very typical architecture, described below, characterizing that specific part of Jabavu known as White City. Regarding violence, White City was marked from the 1950s to the 1990s by almost permanent gang warfare (see Glaser 2000). Streets were unsafe, even by day. Rape and murder were common events. White City is also where the 1976 Soweto Uprising started, at Morris Isaacson High School. From 1976 onwards, political resistance among young people became particularly violent: against the apartheid regime, and especially the police, although this was a dangerous option; against criminals, to protect the youth, e.g. female students who were often the victims of rape; and finally against police informants or anyone else deemed to be collaborating (see Glaser 2000). These three different reasons for pursuing violence were all seen as legitimate forms of struggle, and the young people who resorted to it often felt proud of it. According to testimonies gathered by me from men who participated in the 1976 events and later joined the resistance movements in exile, violence was tied to a certain use of language, and more specifically to the use of Iscamtho. While police officers in Soweto were most often of rural origins, using Iscamtho was a way of keeping one's speech secret from them.

Moreover, a gangster's life was appealing to many township residents. Crime was often regarded as a legitimate way to take part in the struggle, as long as it was directed at White people and not at township residents. This is confirmed by Modisane (as quoted by Hurst 2008:249):

“the white man fears the tsotsis who are perhaps among the only Africans who have personal dignity; they answer white arrogance with black arrogance, they take their just desserts from a discriminating economy by robbery and pillage. The educated African is confined by academic rationalisations, the tsotsi is a practical realist; he is sensitive and responds to the denials and the prejudice with the only kind of logic Western man understands and respects” (Modisane 1986:228-229).

Regarding architecture and its typical urban environment, White City is made up of 1700 concrete buildings known as blocks, with thick round concrete roofs, which are twelve metres long and are divided into three houses each. The photograph⁶ below illustrates both the architecture and

⁶ Copyright Klaus Leidorf, Aerial Photography. All rights reserved.

the exiguity of houses and yards:

Aerial photograph of two streets in White City-Jabavu

This picture is copyrighted and cannot be displayed. It can be seen on following website:

<http://www.leidorf.de/>

under the name ‘Soweto’.

Blocks are divided in houses A, B, and C: A and B count two rooms and a kitchen, C counts one room and a kitchen. White City counts 5 100 houses, and it represents about a third of the township of Jabavu. According to the 2011 Census⁷, Jabavu’s population is divided as follows:

⁷The complete results of the 2011 census for Jabavu are provided in Appendix 4.

Population groups by person weighted, Jabavu, 2011 (Source: Statistics South Africa)

Black African	44934
Coloured	98
Indian or Asian	49
White	56
Other	61
Total	45198

In my opinion, the above census table is not really accurate. According to my experience, there could not have been more than five white people living in Jabavu in 2011, including two disabled men in a pensioners' home, and a Belgian social worker. A higher number seems possible, but certainly not in terms of the proportions given by the table. The numbers in the table stress the fact that many people do not wish to answer the census truthfully, as they might not agree with a number of categorisations imposed by the census methodology, or because they might wish to preserve their privacy from the government. From a linguistic perspective, diversity in Jabavu is reflected as such:

Language by population group, by person weighted, Jabavu, 2011 (Source: Statistics South Africa)

	Black African	Coloured	Indian or Asian	White	Other	Total
Afrikaans	234	8	1	-	-	243
English	1257	17	-	-	4	1278
IsiNdebele	543	1	1	2	-	548
IsiXhosa	3519	-	3	3	-	3524
IsiZulu	19000	13	8	16	4	19041
Sepedi	1832	-	-	1	-	1833
Sesotho	11277	17	6	1	2	11304
Setswana	3786	4	1	1	2	3794
Sign language	264	-	-	1	-	265
SiSwati	224	-	-	-	-	224
Tshivenda	496	1	3	-	-	500
Xitsonga	1651	-	-	-	10	1661
Other	468	-	17	-	39	524
Unspecified	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not applicable	381	37	9	30	-	457
Total	44934	98	49	56	61	45198

Of note is the fact that this table presents a number of aberrations when compared to the previous one. As such, 16 people counted as Whites consider Zulu as their first language, and a total of 24 Whites consider an African language as their first language, as opposed to none for English and Afrikaans. There are white people in South Africa who speak an African language, sometimes

natively, but who are unlikely to claim it as their language in a census; they do not live in White City, but in rural areas rather. Also, aberrant numbers appear in the Indian and Other columns. If some Indian communities in KwaZulu-Natal are known to use Zulu as a second language, this is not the case in White City: members of the Indian community around Johannesburg are rarely fluent in an African language, and English is the language they use for cross-racial interactions. Furthermore, local Indians do not reside in White City. A number of Pakistani men do, who own shops, but they do not speak an African language either, and as many are in the country illegally, they tend to avoid any census. In the case of the Coloured column, speakers of either English or Afrikaans are found in White City, usually because they moved in with their spouses who lived there. While I personally know a few Coloured people living in White City, I would not be able to draw proportions. It is possible also that their children declare themselves, truthfully, as Coloureds who speak an African language as their first. Of interest is the fact that some speakers of African languages preferred to be classified as 'Other.' Finally, the high number of African people declaring English as their first language, as well as the high number in the 'non applicable' line, may be due to the presence of many residents from neighbouring countries (such as Zimbabwe or Mozambique), who did not find their mother tongue on the list. .

All these uncertainties reflect mainly two facts. On the one hand, it is possible that the census question was not clearly formulated. Indeed, the official form asked: "which two languages does (name) speak most often in the household" (2011 Census Questionnaire A). Thus, a respondent may indicate languages that prevail in the household, but these may be in competition with others and may not be used much more often. Moreover, a respondent may want to insist on a heritage language, or a socially valued language such as English, while in practice this language may be rarely used in the household. On the other hand, local residents who are not different from their neighbours, may choose to call themselves White, Indian or Other, to wilfully transgress the racial categories applied to them by the census, or even because they do not trust the purpose of the census. There are still attitudes towards the government in White City which are inherited from the times of apartheid, and some residents may simply not be willing to answer truthfully the questions of a census worker.

It is essential to have a clear understanding of people's life conditions in White City before exploring its language further, for as shown in my MPhil thesis (Aycard 2008), life conditions are at the core of the social and linguistic ideologies that have been supporting the development of

Iscaamtho. From the perspective of urban living, White City was not designed to be comfortable. All houses have their toilet outside, with only one tap in the kitchen and one in the yard. In White City, yards are smaller than in the rest of Soweto. They were never levelled or cleared of rocks when the houses were built. And considering the narrowness of the houses, such yards are almost always filled with three to six rooms or shacks (see photograph above), to accommodate family members who cannot stay in the exiguous house, or tenants who will bring in an income to the household. White City is still considered as offering the poorest housing in Soweto because, among other things, the thick concrete of the houses makes these very hot in summer and very cold in winter.

As far as the social aspect is concerned, White City is characterised by three traits that strike any outsider coming to settle there for some time. Firstly, the youth of the population: according to the 2011 census (see Appendix 3), out of a total of 45 198 residents in Jabavu, 24 991 were under thirty years old. This represents 55.2% of Jabavu's population. Secondly, the lack of men among people above sixty years old, who represent only 2.75% of the local population, as opposed to 5.4% for women above sixty. Most of my informants in 2007 were raised by their mothers and grandmothers, due to the absence of the fathers, either because they would not stay in White City, were involved in crime, were kept in prison or were dead. Thirdly, the very high prevalence of HIV/AIDS among White City's population, as confirmed by the number of funerals one can witness every weekend, strongly impacts the stability of present families.

White City was originally reserved for Nguni speakers, and the first residents were speakers of Zulu and Xhosa. However, within a few years, it became very mixed, due especially to the fact that, although it was designed for single workers, it quickly became a home for entire families, most of whom had been constituted in Soweto, rather than having migrated from the countryside. Nowadays, it seems impossible to find someone in White City whose parents are not from two distinct ethnic, linguistic and cultural descents. What characterises local households is that they include several languages. As such, monolingual families, as far as my experience took me, simply do not exist in White City.

Since the 1960s, family structure in White City has been a major reason why Iscaamtho has reached the social status which I wish to demonstrate, and why it found stability in White City, among the many local languages. In the 1980s in particular, most of the time one or two women were responsible for the education of many children, including their children, grand-children, nephews and nieces, either from other parts of Soweto or Gauteng⁸, or from the rural areas. Children

⁸ The province in which Johannesburg and Soweto are located.

would often go from one house to another during their childhood (for example from their grandmother's place to their aunt's), and whenever such places had paternal figures, these were sometimes employed and therefore absent during the day because they were working in town or in factories and mines around Johannesburg, or could be involved in criminal activities of any kind. Moreover, as was the case everywhere else around Johannesburg, parental control over township male youth was difficult. As pointed out by Glaser (2000:4), "sons had no incentive to conform, because they could see no viable inheritance; there seemed to be little prestige, power, or dignity associated with eldership in the city, where social mobility was blunted by poverty and racial discrimination, and where older residents had little real leverage over the next generation of youth." Till today, the young people of White City are often rebellious, and a strong proportion of them were or still are involved in criminal activities such as housebreaking, robbery or hijacking.

However, White City is also developing, and life conditions have improved for many people in the last decade. Improvements can be seen in the number of houses that have been upgraded, some of them to become mansions, and in the number of proper backrooms built. Many more modern cars than in the past can be seen touring the location. Despite such improvement, people still suffer from massive unemployment, poor housing, lack of public transport (except for taxis), and from many problems related to water and electricity service delivery or road maintenance. I can testify that White City experiences power cuts every day in winter, whereas other Sowetan locations such as Orlando West experience power cuts once a month at the most.

Research questions

Considering the uncertainty characterising the academic debate around both Iscamtho's linguistic nature and social status, and considering the fact that speakers of Iscamtho are also speakers of mixed urban varieties of local African languages, the present thesis aims at answering the following questions:

1. What is the nature of Iscamtho?
2. What is the relationship between slang, style and multilingual speech?
3. Do children make use of Iscamtho?
4. If so, from what age and with whom do they speak it?
5. What social and linguistic forces drive children to use Iscamtho?

6. What can the case of Iscamtho in White City teach us about the urbanisation of language, language contact, multilingualism and style?

Answering these questions will cast a light on two fundamental aspects of language in a situation of language urbanisation and language contact: on the one hand, the structural perspective, concerned with which structures are possible and which are not in a situation of language contact; and on the other, the social issue of how urban style and slang develop and are transmitted. From this double perspective, it can be said that this thesis aims at casting a new light on some of the main questions that have been discussed by linguists interested in language contact up to date: what are the possibilities for a speaker to use forms from distinct linguistic varieties within the same sentence? What are the structural constraints of either syntax or lexicon on these possibilities? How do social dynamics such as style impact on language contact, and can they influence its outcome? In order to start answering these questions, it is now necessary to review the relevant literature.

Chapter 2: Theories of Language Contact

This chapter presents conceptual and theoretical tools that will be used in the analysis to gain a better understanding of the Iscamtho phenomenon in White City. Since Iscamtho developed in a context of multilingualism, the first relevant sub-disciplinary field that Iscamtho is concerned with is the study of multilingualism and language contact. The second field of relevance is code switching, since speech supporting Iscamtho is multilingual, and not always compartmentalised into discrete codes. This led previous analysts of Sowetan Iscamtho to consider it a code-switching variety. I propose an analytical model that can describe all kinds of outcomes of language contact in the same terms, and that takes into account both inheritance and the recreation of linguistic structures.

In Section 1, I present the state of the debate on multilingualism and language contact, with a special focus on the general concepts of the field, and on the social factors that can impact on the outcome of contact. I will also present forms of new varieties that have been observed to develop in multilingual settings. In Section 2, I focus on the issue of code switching (henceforth CS), a field that is part of contact linguistics, but which has received special attention in the last forty years. The structural and social aspects of CS will both be presented, with a special focus on theories on the possible outcomes of language contact. An analytic model which integrates general language contact issues with CS issues will be proposed.

1. Multilingualism and Language Contact

Early linguistic studies were already interested in the product of language contact, particularly the new varieties that are sometimes born of it. Precursors of modern linguistics such as Schuchardt (1882) were interested in such issues, and prominent linguists of the early 20th century considered the question of language contact as central to their theories of language (see Sapir 1921 and Bloomfield 1933).

At the same time as mainstream linguistics was starting to focus on structural issues within the Chomskyan framework, the work of Weinreich (1953:86-87) also became influential. Weinreich considered that “to predict typical forms of interference from the socio-linguistic description of a bilingual community and a structural description of its language is the ultimate goal of interference studies.” ‘Interference studies’ is Weinreich’s term for contact linguistics.

Contact linguistics focuses on what happens when two languages are experienced in a community, or in one speaker’s experience, and the consequences of this experience on the structure

of language. As noted by Blommaert (2010:114), multilingualism

“should not be seen as a collection of ‘languages’ that a speaker controls, but rather as a complex of specific semiotic resources, some of which belong to a conventionally defined ‘language,’ while others belong to another ‘language.’ The resources are concrete accents, language varieties, registers, genres, modalities such as writing – ways of using languages in particular communicative settings and spheres of life, including the ideas people have about such ways of using, their language ideologies.”

Language contact is a matter of language structure as well as a matter of social context and ideologies (see Chapter 3). Blommaert’s perspective attributes much importance to social factors, yet the issue concerning which of the two aspects – structural and social – is more important in language contact, has not yet received a definitive answer. Fundamentally, the question revolves around the structural constraints on the linguistic outcome of language contact, and whether social factors may overcome these constraints to produce unpredictable forms. Heine and Kuteva (2005:12-13) stress that “there is evidence to suggest that social variables are largely irrelevant as determinants of contact-induced change.”

The nature of the constraints was presented clearly by Winford (2003), who notes four types of constraints to consider regarding the structural output of language contact. At this stage he refers to the exchange of lexical or syntactic features as ‘borrowing:’

“Morphological constraint 1 (borrowing):

The greater the congruence between morphological structures across languages in contact, the greater the ease of borrowing” (Winford 2003:93).

“Morphological constraint 2 (borrowing):

The greater the degree of transparency of a morpheme, the greater the likelihood of its diffusion. By contrast, the more opaque (complex, bound, morphologically reduced) a morpheme is, the less likely it is to be borrowed” (Winford 2003:95).

“Morphological constraint 3 (borrowing):

The existence of gaps in the morphemic inventory of a recipient language facilitates the importation of new morphemes and functional categories from a source language.” (Winford 2003:96).

“Morphological constraint 4 (borrowing):

The lack of a functional category in a source language may lead to loss of a similar category in the recipient language” (Winford 2003:96).

These constraints are general guidelines of what most often happens in language contact. Winford’s principles seem broad enough to apply to most of the linguistic outcome of contact

recorded in the data. Yet we can also note that the above-mentioned constraints apply in a stereotypical situation of contact, where varieties remain distinct and influence one another. However, another way for language contact to be realised in the speakers' speech production is CS, which will be thoroughly discussed in Section 2. Grosjean (1982:145) gave a broad definition of CS as "the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterances or conversation". In the theoretical context of Winford's four constraints, the two or more varieties would not need to be used in the same interaction.

As noted countless times in the language contact literature, 'languages' are not in contact with one another by themselves. Instead, speakers and communities come into contact, and the social modalities of their contact determine the depth of linguistic cross-influence, as well as the structural impact it has on the speech outcome. The various dimensions of social factors in language contact situations will be described in the next sections of this chapter. But since contact linguistics has been primarily concerned with structural outcomes, this point needs to be described first. Cross-influence in speech structure may be seen in lexicon, syntax, as well as phonology, prosody or semantics. Although the last three of these aspects are mentioned in the course of the thesis, and parts of the data analysed stress relevant mechanisms, they are not the primary object of analysis: this thesis focuses on the lexical and syntactic consequences of language contact. To identify the mechanisms of structural cross-influence, and the constraints that may control the outcome, is an attempt to identify some of the universal laws of language. Research in the field has been concerned with the following questions:

- What are the patterns of structural influence and exchange in language contact?
- What are the hypothetical patterns that are not observed and appear impossible?
- How do these patterns relate to the particular sociolinguistic characteristics of one language contact situation?
- Therefore, what possible and predictable structural patterns can be expected in this particular contact situation?

1.1 The General Structural and Lexical Consequences of Language Contact

In a particular contact situation, two main possible directions can be given to linguistic change for two or more varieties in contact: either the social outcome of contact allows – or even encourages – displaying the effects of linguistic cross-influence; or it forbids it, and favours instead maintaining the forms of one variety as they were before contact. As illustrated by the data, little

attempt is made by most speakers in White City to avoid displaying the effects of language contact, and there is no concern for the practice of a ‘pure’ or ‘deep’ version of any of the languages concerned. The language variety analysed in the next chapters shows the many effects of language contact, hence the fact that I focus on how social modalities of contact encourage and increase its linguistic effects. In this situation, several mechanisms structuring the exchange of linguistic material by two varieties in contact can be identified.

The Lexical and the Syntactic Dimensions

The two main aspects of the outcome of language contact discussed in this thesis are its lexical and syntactic dimensions. Various terms have been used in previous literature to describe and analyse these. Early descriptions include Weinreich (1953, 1967) who refers to ‘interference’ rather than ‘borrowing’ in describing the transfer of lexical material, but also to ‘interference’ as contact between languages. I will avoid the term ‘interference,’ as it bears a negative connotation regarding the nature of contact. To Haugen (1950:212, emphasis in original), ‘borrowing’ can be applied in the same way to lexical and syntactic aspects:

“If he (the speaker) reproduces the new linguistic patterns, NOT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE LANGUAGE IN WHICH HE LEARNT THEM, but in the context of another, he may be said to have ‘borrowed’ them from one language to another. The heart of our definition of borrowing is then THE ATTEMPTED REPRODUCTION IN ONE LANGUAGE OF PATTERNS PREVIOUSLY FOUND IN ANOTHER.”

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) consider borrowing as one of two types of ‘interference,’ distinguishing it from ‘shift-induced interference.’ The term relates to a certain sociolinguistic pattern of transfer, where speakers take material from a different variety while retaining their language. Certainly, the scale of linguistic influence is important to the concept. They define borrowing as “the incorporation of foreign features into a group’s native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features” (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:37). On the other hand, they consider ‘interference’ as the impact of one language over the speakers of another, in the case where the speakers cease to speak their language in part or in full. For Thomason and Kaufman borrowing can apply to lexicon and syntax, as well as to phonology, morphology or semantics.

I will use the term ‘borrowing’ in this thesis for lexical exchange from one language to another. Myers-Scotton (1993a) distinguishes ‘core borrowing’ from ‘cultural borrowing.’ Core borrowings enter the new language gradually; they are phonologically integrated, and their use can affect the structure of the recipient language. Cultural borrowings however are adopted quickly, with no or little phonological adaptation, and no structural consequences. However, the data show that there is great variability in the adaptation of borrowed items to the morphology or the phonology of the recipient language, particularly in the case of Afrikaans and English lexicons imported into Zulu or Sotho. Terms used every day may appear with or without adaptation, and one user may show variation in the way these terms are used. Therefore I do not distinguish borrowings that are phonologically or morphologically integrated from those that are not, as these differences do not inform us about the integration of the item into the social and linguistic context of White City. Furthermore, several borrowings with structural consequences will be analysed in the course of the thesis, but no element makes it possible to state that these borrowings were adopted more slowly, or that they are more phonologically adapted than others. It is very difficult to deduce from the level of integration of the borrowing, the length of time during which the item has been used, or the scale of its spread. Thus, I will not distinguish cultural and core borrowings, but will distinguish borrowings which I know to be common in White City, from those that are exceptional or tied to one specific discussion. These will be stressed as being potentially one-time occurrences. All lexical items used in a language in which they do not originate will be labelled as borrowings, except those that belong to the Iscamtho slang corpus.

Borrowing is enhanced by syntactic similarities between languages. Muysken (1997) proposes the concept of congruent lexicalisation for cases where two languages present a parallel structure, allowing each syntactic position to “be filled lexically with elements from either language” (Winford 2003:129). This case obviously favours borrowing, but it is not clear if the interaction will be qualified as borrowing when a phrase rather than a word is concerned. Borrowing or congruent lexicalisation may apply, but CS may also be a relevant concept. This situation is discussed in Section 2.

Particular Mechanisms of Syntactic Transfers

Other mechanisms of influence in language contact include syntactic influence with or without lexical exchange. I use the term ‘transfer’ to refer to syntactic aspects, but its meaning is not essentially different from the concept of borrowing applied to lexical items. It consists in implementing a syntactic feature from a neighbouring variety, into an individual’s use of his

community language.

Several terms have been used to describe syntactic transfer. Heine and Kuteva (2005) prefer the term ‘grammatical replication’ when there is no lexical borrowing, but only the emulation of a syntactic pattern in the recipient language. As noted by them, ‘convergence’ is a term often used to refer to the transfer of a syntactic pattern. A distinction should be made at this stage between a syntactic pattern that reproduces some or all of the morphemes of the source language, and one that only reproduces syntactic order. The first one would surely fall into the category of CS (see Section 2), whereas the second would be called either grammatical replication (Heine & Kuteva 2005) or convergence (Myers-Scotton 2002 for instance). Myers-Scotton also distinguishes between ‘attrition’ and convergence. The first is described as “a phenomenon of individuals, referring to what happens to an individual’s production of a language (usually an L1), *and* the state of any loss at a point in time” (Myers-Scotton 2002:179, emphasis in original). Heine and Kuteva (2005:10) note that in Myers-Scotton’s usage,

“attrition is motivated by a situation where “the influence of one language on another reflects generally asymmetrical sociopolitical relations between the native speakers of the languages involved”; as a process it is “a mechanism in the progressive outcomes of attrition, language shift and death, and creole formation” and its outcome is “a linguistic configuration with all surface morphemes from one language, but part of its abstract lexical structure from another language” (Myers-Scotton 2002: 101).”

However, Myers-Scotton’s distinction between attrition and convergence seems to be a matter of perspective: if one focuses on the loss of competence of a speaker, or the loss of structure in a language, it is attrition. If competence in a language or the existence of the structure, are not compromised by the development of the new structure, but instead new patterns only add up to old ones, she prefers to call it convergence. Both processes may alternate in time, which means that both concepts might be used to describe the same evolution in the same setting. As noted by Heine and Kuteva (2005:10), in both cases, the structural mechanism resulting in the new patterns are the same.

Sometimes, the transfer of lexical material from one language to the other can lead to the transfer of the structure that it induces in the source language, or the development of an innovative structure in the recipient language, stemming from the adaptation of the original source pattern to the recipient language. Heine and Kuteva (2005:14) call the process ‘grammaticalisation,’ and they

define it as “a process leading from lexical to grammatical and from grammatical to more grammatical forms, and since the development of grammatical forms is shaped by constructions as well as larger context settings, the study of grammaticalization is also concerned with constructions and larger discourse units.” When grammaticalisation occurs due to the transfer of one or few lexical items, it might get generalised in the recipient language, in which case the new pattern might replace the original pattern in all instances.

Grammaticalisation is grammatical replication induced by lexical borrowing. But more generally, replication consists in adapting a structure of the source language to the lexicon of the recipient language, or in adapting the structure of the recipient language to fit the use of the particular lexical item being borrowed. Heine and Kuteva (2005:37) emphasise the creative dimension of such a process:

“What grammatical replication tends to involve is a process where speakers combine a number of different variables [...] to create novel forms of expressing grammatical meanings in the replica language. Accordingly, we are dealing – at least to some extent – with a creative process [...]: speakers are not only receivers and imperfect learners, but also creators who use what they find in one language and sociocultural environment to shape another language in novel ways – they do not simply imitate grammatical categories, or produce imperfect copies of such categories; rather, they are likely to develop new use patterns and new categories on the model of another language.”

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) proposed a specific use of the term ‘interference’ to describe another type of syntactic transfer, which occurs in the case of language shift, when the structure of the receding language is replicated in the use of the newly acquired one. They remark that ‘interference’ differs from borrowing, since “unlike borrowing, interference does not begin with vocabulary: it begins with syntax, and sometimes includes morphology as well before words from the shifting group’s original language appear in [the adopted language]” (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:39). Cases of interference appear in the data, yet there is no reason to conclude that there is a situation of shift in White City. On the contrary, Chapters 5 and 6 will stress that different varieties remain present in the same environment. But the kind of syntactic transfers described above occurs in the data, which indicates that such interference is not necessarily tied to a shift situation.

Specific Notable Traits of Cross-Influence in Contact Situations

Researchers in the field of language contact have observed general trends in contact output. One

of these aspects is the fact that among the first elements transferred in a contact situation, especially if contact is close, is a category of lexical items which marks the junction of the lexical and syntactic dimensions of contact. I am referring to a wide range of logical connectors, some of which may be used as discourse markers, which often have equivalents across languages that are not closely related. They act as discourse organisers, and their use as borrowed items can cause grammatical restructuring. Mougeon and Beniak (1991:211) note that “the gratuitous nature of core lexical borrowing is reminiscent of the phenomenon of code-switching [...]. In fact, that sentence connectors and other kinds of discourse organizers like *so* are so often reported in lists of core lexical borrowings may not be a coincidence, since these items all occur at prime switch points.”

Logical connectors as well as tense and aspect adverbs, or question words, might determine the structure of the sentence that follows. When these are borrowed, they might command change in the syntax of the recipient language. As such, the use of simple, invariable borrowed items may sometimes influence the syntax of the recipient language.

As noted by Myers-Scotton (2002:240), items that do not impact upon syntax are more likely to be borrowed:

“nouns are borrowed more frequently than any other category because they receive, not assign, thematic role. That is, their insertion is less disruptive of predicate-agreement structure than insertions of any other content morphemes assigning thematic roles (i.e. verbs, but also prepositions and predicate adjectives). I propose that nouns are rarely borrowed to satisfy a thematic role that they do not satisfy in their source language. Their semantic and pragmatic import is open to change (i.e. specifications at the level of lexical-conceptual structure), but it is less likely their thematic roles will change (i.e. their specifications at the level of predicate-argument structure). Thus, for example, nouns that are Agents are borrowed into syntactic slots that Agents can occupy in the recipient language.”

However, this may only hold true for strict lexical borrowing when it does not affect syntax or phonology. In addition, Myers-Scotton’s observation may have more force in some sociolinguistic contexts than others.

1.2 The Social Dimensions of Language Contact

As noted above, language contact occurs through social contact between speakers of different varieties. The social nature of the process is obvious, and yet much debate still exists about the

impact of social factors over the structural outcome of language contact.

Myers-Scotton (2002:238-240) argues that the structural constraints of language have little to do with the social context, and that they will remain true in a universal way. She stands in opposition with Thomason and Kaufman (1988:35), who argued that “both the direction of interference and the extent of interference are socially determined; so, to a considerable degree, are the kinds of features transferred from one language to another.” Mufwene (2001:20) goes a step further, when he asserts that

“in a lot of ethnographic settings, as made evident by the literature on code-mixing and non-linguistic gestures, speakers are more concerned with communicating by any means available to them, than with language or dialect boundaries. Code-mixing or, more generally, language or dialect contact, is probably more central to normal language evolution than has been recognized in historical and genetic linguistics.”

Multilingual Behaviours as Socially and Cognitively Motivated

Taking into account the importance of social factors, researchers developed concepts to analyse language contact from the sociolinguistic perspective. One of these concepts was developed for general sociolinguistics, to study language variation according to the changing context of social life: the concept of ‘sociolinguistic domains’ developed by Fishman (1964; 1965). When the sociolinguistic context is multilingual, domains (such as family, work, religion, sport, transports...) as well as setting (place or type of interlocutors) may cause innovation across varieties, in the form of borrowing, transfer or CS.

Multilingual behaviours may vary across domains, or in some situations, one language may be reserved for one domain. In Soweto, some churches may either resort to the strict use of African languages (in versions close to the standard), or to English. In both cases, language mixing may be perceived as improper by some in the church domain. However, in the street and in informal or familial contexts, the use of the standard or rural versions of African languages, or the strict use of English, may be perceived as inappropriate.

Another social factor that is important in settings involving different language varieties is accommodation. Howard Giles (see Giles & Smith 1979) is the founder of the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), of which the central idea is that speakers tend to adapt their speech to their interlocutor. This adaptation may translate into a modification of pronunciation, rhythm, syntax or lexicon. Paralinguistic features such as gestures may also be concerned. Accommodation

may be convergent, as an emulation of the interlocutor's own speech, or divergent, as to emphasize difference between a speaker and his interlocutor. CAT is meant to account for psychological and identity factors in communication.

CS may also be a form of accommodation, yet accommodation does not only occur with regards to language choice, but also in terms of style or register. From the theory of accommodation, questions emerge regarding a case of multilingualism: how does accommodation occur in speech that is intrinsically multilingual? Can the use of a mixed urban variety, or even the use of Iscamtho, be for the purpose of accommodation rather than exclusion only, as previously assumed in tsotsitaal studies (see next chapter)? This would imply that both have become part of the common social repertoire, rather than being confined to particular sub-groups of speakers. What about style or dialect shifting: can they be analysed with the same tools as language contact phenomena? Can a style influence language change in the way that multilingualism does? And if so, what is the role of individuals and their sociolinguistic choices in language change? Can they take over inner structural change and subordinate it to social constraints? And can accommodation be a factor in these processes?

Another factor to take into consideration is second language acquisition. Although children in White City learn several languages simultaneously at a young age, the data may show that some forms of mixing or non-standard speech are due to the incomplete learning of any specific variety. Also, CS may be motivated by the fact that a speaker's command of a specific variety is not felt to be good enough to understand monolingual speech.

Notwithstanding the imperfection of the learning process, the development of language abilities in children is not the same as in adults, and learning one or even several languages as a child is not the same as learning new languages at an adult age. These different situations will result in different patterns in the language learning process. Mufwene (2001:132) explains the specificities of first language acquisition among children:

“Children too acquire language imperfectly, subject to different ecological constraints. They have several advantages over adults, including the following: (i) they do not already command another language, which would interfere with structures of the target language; (ii) language development in their case proceeds concurrently with their cognitive maturation, so that aspects of the target language that retain their attention are limited in number and only some are acquired at a particular stage; (iii) they are therefore not under the same magnitude of pressure to develop structural strategies to communicate all sorts of ideas – some of which

are very complex – as adults who must do this within a short period of time.”

Regarding multiple language acquisition, what can be drawn from Mfwene’s three points of argumentation? Point (i) tells us that children do not experience the interference of another language while developing language. If children are not biased by a preconception of what structure language should take – another way of putting Mfwene’s point (i), since bias would be the consequence of the previous knowledge of one language, whichever one – they are free to learn any structure of language as their ‘first language,’ given adequate circumstances. As such, I aim to demonstrate in the next chapters that White City’s local variety is a native language.

Point (ii) above stresses that the rhythm of acquisition is tied to the cognitive development of the child. This can explain differences as well as similarities in multilingual patterns across age categories in the data. Also, one might want to extend the principle beyond syntactic structure, and apply it to phonology or to styling abilities. The data provides information about the development of both multilingualism and style among children.

Point (iii) above mentions that pressure regarding acquisition differs between adults and children. Some families in White City may choose not to put any pressure on the multilingual choices of young children in the early acquisition phase or later. In some cases, the same pattern might be applied to style and use of Iscamtho.

White City children are not only exposed to mixed urban versions of African languages. They also have to acquire several of these languages at a young age. Mfwene’s point (iii) may lead to different patterns of language-mixing between children and adults. It will be necessary to distinguish mixed patterns that are observed only among children.

In the course of Chapters 5 to 7, I will try to provide answers to the questions and assumptions presented in this section. For now, it is necessary to present particular products of language contact and the social environments that supported their development, and to see how they can relate to the case of Soweto. Two important categories are creole languages, and mixed languages.

Children and the Creole Debate

Creole languages have often been represented as a case of language change that differed from ‘natural’ change through evolution of one language. Creoles appeared in a particular colonial setting, in which not only many languages coexisted, but in which strong social hierarchy between people and their languages did not allow the formation of a ‘negotiated’ form of speech. They are also

distinguished from pidgins from their status of native language, which allows the stabilisation of more complex grammatical forms than with a pidgin, typically used for commercial interaction, with high variability, and not as a native language.

Viewing creoles as extraordinary cases of language genesis culminated with Bickerton (1980), who postulated that creoles were the result of language creation by young children through what Koppe and Meisel (1995:297) described as “a kind of ‘proto-language’ (i.e. lacking syntactic structures).” This proto-language is determined by a natural ‘biolanguage’ ability to shape syntax around the age of two. This hypothesis is based on the postulate of syntax as controlled by natural principles, in the Chomskyan vein, but it also assumes that children’s natural language obeys universal principles which are distinct from the principles of Universal Grammar in which stable languages are constrained.

Atlantic creoles, as well as creoles and pidgins of the Indian and Pacific oceans, developed in extraordinary settings: slavery and the triangular trade in the Atlantic; and indentured labour in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. But could extraordinary social factors (such as pressure to communicate among slaves, pressure to understand and obey the master, or short life expectancy) have extraordinary effects on the outcome of contact, or is the outcome submitted to the same constraints on change as in any other language contact setting? An essential factor seems to be the lack of a single language, present in large enough numbers on slave plantations, to trigger common acquisition by all slaves on a plantation.

In the last forty years, research in multilingualism has changed the general understanding of how creoles, and other contact-induced varieties, can emerge. Mufwene (2001:xiii) has argued for creoles as a rather normal case of language change, similar in its formation process to most modern languages. Although his views are not shared by a majority of researchers in the field, he argues that

“Neither did creole emerge in settings where there was no target, though one can concede that, given the availability of diverse varieties (native and non-native) of the lexifier in the plantation colonies, such a target was definitely more diffused than in other cases of language transmission. Nor were these new vernaculars created by children; they would not be as complex as they are and they surely give no indication of being in an arrested development stage compared to non-creole languages. They are not only cases of language restructuring – or system reorganization – prompted by contact, nor are the kinds of contact that motivated their developments different from those that should be invoked in, for instance, the speciation of Vulgar Latin into Romance languages.”

If the mechanisms of change may be common in the case of creoles and Romance languages, an important issue remains concerning the length of time over which change occurred. In the case of Romance languages, their distinction from Vulgar Latin and from one another took possibly a thousand years. In the case of creoles and pidgins, although not all specialists agree, the emergence of the new varieties seems to have been much faster, possibly only a few decades. However, it is not always clear how long a specific creole may have taken to stabilise after its emergence, due to the strong turnover among slaves, and the diversity of their linguistic origins.

Mufwene (2001:24) contests that children are in charge of the process of creating a new variety, but he concedes that their creative abilities can impact the outcome:

“During the development of creoles, as of other new language varieties, the structural systems of the lexifiers were naturally undone and redone a few times, being gradually modified in the transmission process, consistent with Lass’s (1997) principle of imperfect replication and with Meillet’s (1929) and Hagege’s (1993) observation that language transmission involves both inheritance and recreation.”

The question remains concerning how much influence children can have on the development of the new variety. The answer to this question may be highly context-specific. Hence the necessity to derive possible conclusions from the data, providing an opportunity to compare the use of the mixed variety in White City by children and adults. This may shed light on the question of how transmission and recreation interact in the development of a mixed variety.

There have been cases of mixed varieties from Africa and elsewhere that were once called ‘extended pidgins’ or were compared to creoles. They are closer to the latter than to classic pidgins. Muysken and Smith (1994:3) write about the emergence of extended pidgins:

“This has happened for instance with Tok Pisin, Nigerian Pidgin English, and Sango (Central African Republic), to name but three cases. In particular this has tended to occur in urban environments, where speakers from different ethnic groups have daily contact with each other. The pidgin then becomes the town language. The children of mixed marriages often grow up speaking the home language – the pidgin – as their native language.”

The use of terms such as ‘extended pidgins’ is less common nowadays, as more research has started to confirm that language contact processes are not essentially different in the case of creoles or modern ‘extended pidgins’ and other extended languages stemming from language contact. The question remains concerning the case of urban African contexts: what can the multilingual situation

of Soweto reveal about the genesis of similar contact-induced languages? Regarding structural processes, can the general principles of language contact, which have been used to explain creole genesis in recent times, also be used to explain the development of a native mixed variety in White City?

The Mixed Language Debate

Deumert (2005) discusses another case of language contact product: the concept of Mixed Language (henceforth ML) and its relation to CS. A prototypical ML is a language whose syntactic structure originates in one language, and its lexicon in another. However several cases of accepted MLs are organised on clearly different patterns. Deumert argues that the level of lexicon originating in a different source than the grammar, to allow the analyst to speak of a ‘mixed language,’ is much less than the 90% rate proposed by Bakker and Mous (1994).

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) proposed that ML can arise via a slow process of CS. However, Bakker (2003) refutes the idea of CS as a source of ML, and argues that no example of a transitional phase of relexification has been proposed. The data presented in the next chapters might help us improve our understanding of this phenomenon, and maybe reconsider whether it can occur.

Deumert (2005:125) also presents the perspective developed by Auer (1999) in regard to the concept of markedness, stating that:

“high frequencies of code juxtaposition gradually weaken its ability to function as a contextualization cue, and the mixed code itself eventually stabilizes as a new form of speech in the repertoire of the bilingual community, where it can even replace the ancestry languages (e.g. in the case of Michif). In the transition phase both “old” (socially or stylistically meaningful) CS behaviour and “new” patterns of unmarked language mixing co-exist.”

Regarding the impact of CS on the emergence of ML, one can postulate the following pattern:

Phase 1: CS as style, or contextualization cue.

Phase 2: style is widely adopted, and CS stabilises as new vernacular.

Phase 3: new style is developed with a CS-born variety supporting it.

This pattern may explain how Iscamtho and CS are interrelated, and the data analysis should contribute to the understanding of whether Iscamtho as urban slang, or CS as urban style, or a mixture of the two, could have caused the stabilization of White City’s variety as a ‘mixed

language.’

2. Code-Switching

This section describes the state of the debate on the issue of CS. Firstly, the concept of CS is defined and general research issues regarding CS are discussed. Secondly, I reflect on the main specific model that has been used so far (Slabbert & Myers-Scotton 1997; Finlayson, Calteaux & Myers-Scotton 1998) to analyse Iscamtho in Soweto and language mix elsewhere around Johannesburg, namely Myers-Scotton’s Matrix Language Frame model.

2.1 Defining Code Switching

As mentioned in Section 1, CS is an aspect of language contact, which involves the alternate use of two distinct varieties in a conversation. Blom and Gumperz (1972) were pioneers of CS studies, but forty years after their first publication on the matter, what CS entails is still being debated. Several points of contention need to be discussed. The first one is the distinction between CS and borrowing. Typically, CS is described as most often involving an unequal role of two or more varieties in speech, each having command of the structure of a phrase, if not a sentence. A main language with its syntax commanding speech is most often identifiable at the sentence level. It has often been referred to as the Matrix Language, after Myers-Scotton’s Matrix Language Frame model (Myers-Scotton 2002, see Sub-section 2.3). However, I will rather use the term ‘base language’ when one is identifiable, considering that the concept of ‘matrix’ implies a force that shapes the final outcome. The data offers examples of contradictory outcomes in regard to the implementation of the syntactic patterns of the base language. In this light, the term matrix does not seem to fit all cases of CS. A base, on the other hand, is the starting point for potential new development. The concept of ‘base language’ therefore seems less self-prophetic.

The other language variety (or varieties) involved in a CS situation, is referred to by Myers-Scotton as the Embedded Language. However, I argue that the concept of embedding suffers from the same problems as that of matrix language: it implies that CS is subordinated to the patterns of the base language. In the next chapters, I will show that, although these assumptions apply to most of the data, a significant portion of it cannot be explained by embedding alone.

As a result, I use the term ‘source language’ when referring to the variety that provides the

lesser proportion of lexicon and syntax in a sentence. The source language is complementary to the base language, which is the variety that provides most elements in the sentence or phrase. The choice of these terms also signals that CS is part of the larger framework of language contact. The source language, in CS as in borrowing and transfer, is the language that influences the main variety of a community or an individual. The two concepts may lack precision to some observers, but they are wide enough to encompass all the examples that are dealt with in Chapter 7, including those that challenge the established models of CS.

The following questions arise when distinguishing CS from other contact outcomes: is it possible to distinguish CS from borrowing and transfer within the conceptual language contact framework? Could ‘switching’ base languages in one turn not simply be transferring syntax and borrowing lexicon at the same time? In addition, if ‘switching’ is also practised in phonology or prosody, it may become difficult to identify a base language: there is no certainty that structural factors and para-linguistic factors should be exchanged in the same directions.

I propose to imagine the (unlikely) case of a bilingual speaker who would, at times (probably in a particular style), maintain the lexicon of, for instance, Zulu, and modify it to copy the grammatical structure of, for instance, English. Would he be borrowing Zulu terms into the English frame? Would he be transferring English syntax into Zulu? Would he be switching from his original Zulu variety to another, with different syntactic rules? Or could he be switching from Zulu to English, while borrowing lexicon from Zulu? Or could it be that he is speaking a new variety akin to Fanakalo, a pidgin-like variety with a syntax similar to that of English, and with Zulu as the lexifier? This imaginary example only serves to illustrate the impossibility of relating a particular linguistic structure to a mechanism of speech production out of context.

CS is only one aspect of language contact, and its relation to other language contact phenomena may seem slightly fuzzy. Yet, speech that alternates between varieties is typical of only certain kinds of societies: those where different varieties are used side by side, by the same speakers, at least to some extent. And it is clearly distinguishable from the case of a speaker using a foreign word in his own language, while he knows nothing of the source language. So how could one relate these two situations on the language contact scale? I identify CS as a phenomenon of its own, but as it is not separate from borrowing and transfer in its display, how can it be analysed separately? I propose to analyse CS in terms that are not separate from the general principles of language contact:

- The base language is not different from what was previously termed matrix language, or

recipient language. But the term is neutral and does not presume any constraints being set by the use of one base language rather than another. The base language may not be the same at the speech level, at the sentence level or at the phrase level.

- The source language again corresponds to the embedded language, but the term does not presume the process through which material from the source language appears in the base language. The term also reflects the fact that cross-influence in CS is not essentially different than in other language contact phenomena, as 'source language' has been used by previous authors to describe phenomena of borrowing and transfer. The source language does not dominate at the speech level, but it may underlie certain utterances in CS interactions at the sentence or phrase level.

- At the phrase level, the role of the two varieties involved in CS as base or source language might be inverted from the discourse or sentence level. In this case, CS is said to be intrasentential, and the base language changes from phrase to phrase within the same sentence. This has often been referred to as 'code mixing' as opposed to 'code switching,' which is then intersentential. Whether CS can occur within a phrase remains a point of contention.

- The term 'code alternation' will be used to refer to the case of change in syntax and lexicon, from one identifiable pattern to another, within and between sentences or phrases. This will avoid applying the concept of 'switching,' which seems to refer to an active choice.

- The term CS is used to refer to speech containing alternations, rather than to the structural features involved. Code alternation is a structural phenomenon, distinct from borrowing and transfer, but it might occur together with them. It is not a process of speech production from the perspective of the speaker. Code alternation is the feature that allows us to consider CS as an outcome of language contact distinct from borrowing and transfer.

- Otherwise, the concepts presented in Section 1 will be drawn upon, especially to describe the modalities of alternation, borrowing and transfer in CS. The deliberate simplicity of the model is meant to propose a perspective encompassing the diversity of exchange mechanisms identified in Section 1, which CS in White City is inseparable from.

General Theoretical Observations on CS

Other approaches to CS have flourished in the last thirty years. Poplack and Meechan (1995:200) define CS more strictly, as involving sentences or parts of sentences with a coherent structure that conforms to the patterns of the 'lexifier language,' a term originating in creole studies, which is the language that contributes most of the vocabulary of the creole. Hence in their view, the use of

borrowed lexicon does not qualify as CS if it does not imply an alternation in syntactic systems.

Gardner-Chloros (1995) contests the idea that speakers make binary choices to alternate between syntaxes. She observes that CS is difficult to separate from other forms of language contact outputs. Code alternation forms part of speech that contains other multilingual traits, such as borrowing and transfer. In addition, when there are syntactic transfers, lexical borrowing and alternation in the base language of the speech, it sometimes becomes impossible to decide which of the varieties is being spoken. Hence the necessity of conceiving of CS as interrelated with other contact phenomena.

Gardner-Chloros (1995:71) also contests Myers-Scotton's matrix frame and insertion approach, stating that "we should consider the possibility that speakers can simply let down the mental barriers between the two languages at various levels – for example, switching can take place at the phonological level only – rather than assuming that they constantly shift from one pre-set frame to another." One could add that, what is identified as CS by linguists from the alternation of structural patterns, may not at all involve an awareness of using two different varieties. In the case of White City children, one can wonder from what age the children can distinguish 'ways of speaking' – which they adapt to, according to places, persons or domains – from 'languages,' with the socio-cultural and identity dimensions entailed by this concept. In order for the 'switching' concept to apply to the children's behaviour, one should assume that they make a binary choice every time their speech is multilingual. It is the purpose of this thesis to show that structural patterns identified as CS may not result at all from an actual process of mixing and switching by the speaker: instead, it may be the reproduction of mixed speech from one generation to another, the mixed speech then constituting a variety in its own right among the 'languages' of the place. Thus, concepts of CS or code alternation as used in the structural analysis presented in this thesis, cannot be taken as describing a psycholinguistic process of speech production.

Gardner-Chloros (1995:86-87) even questions the very name of the CS concept, accurately considering that it misrepresents the phenomenon it refers to:

"Code-switching should be viewed as an analyst construct rather than an observable fact. It is a product of our conceptualizations about language contact and language mixing, and it is not separable, either ideologically or in practice, from borrowing, interference or pidginisation. [...] We should observe the behaviour of the molecules, and the waves which they generate, without worrying about what either waves or molecules should be called. Nevertheless, those who do consider names important would do well to reflect that

code-switching deserves a name less misleading as to its nature.”

Other conceptualizations have been made about specific aspects of CS. Winford (2003:106) observes that the distinction between intersentential and intrasentential CS, as made by Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993b), includes “single-morpheme switches” which are akin to borrowing, as they may not affect the base language in syntax. He remarks that, “she focuses mainly on intra-sentential alternations, and her definition of code-switching seems to present this type as proto-typical.” The Matrix Language Frame model is thoroughly discussed below. But the framework I described above is meant to allow more than insertion, borrowing or transfer. Instead, it includes base language alternation as essential to CS, and it does not presume what element can be the object of exchange. As such it leads to an analysis of CS from the speech to the sentence and to the phrase levels. Borrowing would typically occur within the phrase level, but it might affect the sentence level in the form of syntactic transfer.

CS has also been distinguished from borrowing due to its nature as a one-time occurrence, rather than a stable and repeated use of the exchanged morphemes. Furthermore, borrowings may be used by monolingual speakers, while CS is produced by bilingual speakers.

In the perspective of borrowings as stable items adapted to the recipient language and used by monolinguals, Myers-Scotton remarks (1993b:182), that CS is an entry door for borrowings, as it transfers foreign material from the bilingual’s speech to the monolingual’s. But how should we consider the case of stable forms of CS in the speech of a community? The data give examples of foreign sentences or phrases that are systematically used in Zulu speech in White City, some of which have structural consequences. And it also demonstrates that such structures have become nativised, since they are transmitted by parents to children as they start speaking, and that they no longer result from an actual process of ‘switching.’

Motivations for Code Switching

There are two aspects to the motivations for CS. One is the linguistic aspect, when CS is induced by the use of a lexical item tied to a specific structure, or when a particular meaning can be expressed better, or in a simpler way, in another language; and the other is the social aspect, when speakers choose to use mixed speech for communicative and identity purposes.

Regarding social factors, Gumperz (1982:130) presented CS a ‘contextualization cue,’ defined as a linguistic or paralinguistic element through which speakers “foreground or make relevant

certain aspects of background knowledge and underplay others.” Background knowledge includes the position of the speaker, the sociocultural environment surrounding the participants, as well as their shared knowledge of the expectations of this environment. In this perspective, each language, dialect or even register bears value, and CS is always meaningful and intentional.

LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985:181) developed an understanding of CS as a meaningful communicative strategy, which they call an ‘act of identity’ and define as the act through which “the individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behavior so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished.” CS can be a means of implementing one’s identity in interaction with someone who possesses a different or a shared identity. Often, two languages may not bear the same social power, and in a socially unequal interaction, the act of identity serves to enhance the position of a speaker, by asserting his social belonging or his values.

Although these social approaches to CS may be relevant in Soweto, they do not fit the case of a local mixed variety as a native variety. The analysis of the data will attempt to explain the way in which White City shifted from a situation of CS as widespread language contact phenomena, to a situation of mixed variety as the natural language of the community.

While CS can be understood as a meaningful display of identity, it may also be perceived as a “strategy of neutrality” (Myers-Scotton 1993a:147). The term is inscribed into Myers-Scotton’s Markedness model, which takes into account the social motivations to CS through the marked or unmarked value of CS in a given setting. For instance in a multi-ethnic setting, using strictly monolingual speech may be marked as taking a stand for one particular ethnic identity, while CS may be unmarked as reflecting a neutral social position. “Or, an overall pattern of switching codes can index the speakers’ desire to project themselves as persons with the identities associated with more than one language; that is, they project dual identities” (Myers-Scotton 2002:45). In this case, using the terminology of the Markedness model, it can be said that CS reflects an ‘unmarked’ choice, while mixed identity is unmarked.

As rightfully stressed by Gardner-Chloros (1995:80), CS “can be the vehicle of quite opposite tendencies, from accommodation to divergence, and from language maintenance to language shift.” As such it is impossible to predict what meaning to give to CS out of context, as the terms of what values or markedness speakers may associate with different linguistic behaviours are defined by the context, and may change even in the experience of one speaker. To fully understand the social motivations of CS in White City, it will be necessary in the next chapters to focus on the setting of

mixed speech: who speaks? To whom? In what place? On what topic? These aspects have been adapted to the case of child speech, including adult supervision, and they form part of the sociolinguistic analysis presented in Chapter 5.

Regarding the linguistic aspect, several motivations for CS have been identified. As proposed by Gardner-Chloros (1995:73-74), CS might be used to fill in lexical gaps in the base language by using elements from the source language. It might also serve to extend the lexical possibilities of the speaker. She observes that the lexical categories that are the object of CS are the same as in the case of borrowing, with a “similar hierarchy of incorporations of items, with nouns most likely to be incorporated, followed by adjectives, then verbs, prepositions, and so on” (Winford 2003:108).

Main Research Issues in CS Studies

In order to understand the linguistic motivations for CS, it is necessary to understand the linguistic mechanisms of CS. CS studies have focused on the structural constraints on the production of CS. Muysken (1995:196), presents the main questions that researchers have been trying to answer:

- “(i) to what extent is code-switching seen as alternational and symmetrical (and hence involving properties of both languages involved) or insertional (and hence primarily governed by features of one dominant language)?
- (ii) to what extent are restrictions on the code-switching process seen as absolute or relative?
- (iii) to what extent is the relevant syntactic representation of the switch point seen as involving syntactic dependency?
- (iv) to what extent are sentential and lexical phenomena seen in the same perspective?
- (v) to what extent does equivalence between patterns and elements of the languages involved play a role, and should this equivalence be characterised?”

As pointed out by Muysken (1995:178), these five questions also relate to the issue of whether the structure of one’s speech depends on the words that one uses, or if it depends on the general syntax of the language that one speaks. Muysken (1995:180) also recapitulates the two main perspectives on the structure of intra-sentential CS, one “in terms of the alternation of the languages involved in the switch,” and the other “in terms of a single-language matrix structure into which

insertion of a constituent from another language takes place.” As remarked by him, the second approach categorises the inserted material as “an alien lexical or phrasal category into a given structure.”

Finally, following Poplack (1980), and drawing on his own concept of congruent lexicalisation, Muysken (1995:198) proposes a ‘word order equivalence constraint,’ in which “switching is only possible at points where the order of linguistic elements in both languages are the same.” He offers a typology of the general constraints on CS:

- “(i) switching is possible when there is no tight relation (e.g. government) holding between two elements, so-called paratactic switches;
- (ii) switching is possible under equivalence;
- (iii) switching is possible when the switched element is morphologically encapsulated, shielded off by a functional element from the matrix language;
- (iv) switching is possible when at the point of the switch a word could belong to either language, the case of the homophonous diamorph (e.g. in English, German and Dutch).”

A different perspective has been developed by Auer (1995, 1999). He defines CS, or rather ‘code alternation,’ as “a contiguous juxtaposition of semiotic systems, such that the appropriate recipients of the resulting complex sign are in a position to interpret this juxtaposition as such” (Auer 1995:117). Considering CS as a contextualisation cue, Auer (1995:131) states that

“the basic principles by which code-alternation is used in conversation as a meaningful semiotic resource can be stated independently of both the grammar and the macro-social context of code-alternation. Its autonomy is only relative, however, particularly in regard to the social meaning of code-alternation, because in a given bilingual speech community, the conversational patterns of code-alternation and indeed the local meaning given to an instance of code-alternation in a particular context will vary as a function of the status of the codes in the repertoire of the community.”

Auer (1995) identifies four sociolinguistic patterns leading to CS. Pattern I is termed conversational alternation and consists of a change in languages within one speaker's turn, related to the topic or domain discussed. Pattern II consists of a negotiation of the medium of a conversation, with each interlocutor changing codes until a medium acceptable to both is chosen. Pattern III refers to intrasentential alternations, so that no single language can be identified as the base of the sentence.

This case is tied to CS as a neutral social strategy. Finally, Pattern IV refers to momentary alternations that do not change the language being spoken, hence this case being more similar to what other authors would call borrowing.

Auer's four patterns are meant to explain CS at the conversational level, by relating prototypical forms of language alternation to general social contexts. They will be relevant in the sociolinguistic analysis of the children's general speech, and their mixing patterns. Combined with the domain analysis, they may be a means to identify different structural patterns of mixing associated with Auer's sociolinguistic patterns.

The different approaches of CS described above have still not answered all the questions in the field. As stressed by Winford (2003:164) "none of the models of code switching has so far accounted satisfactorily for certain kinds of innovation and restructuring in code-switching behavior. Phenomena such as "bare forms" and innovative compound verb constructions as well as certain types of structural convergence [...] belong to neither of the languages in contact."

In an attempt to establish a theoretical model that can explain all forms of alternations, Sebba (1998) proposes to analyse the grammar of CS as being submitted to conditions of congruence, to explain how speakers create equivalence between grammatical categories that are different from one language to another. This applies to word categories, but also to concepts of number, gender, definiteness, tense or aspect (Sebba 1998:43). In a pair of languages, these concepts may be expressed differently, for instance as one category may be grammaticalised in one language and not in the other. As such, speakers create equivalence on a semantic basis, and when CS occurs, grammatical categories may be modified so as to establish congruence.

Sebba identifies several strategies from speakers to establish congruence. A strategy of harmonisation (Sebba 1998:48) is possible when categories exist across two languages, resulting for instance in a noun being integrated into another language as a noun. This may result in the borrowed item being adapted to the grammatical structure required for one grammatical category of words in the base language. A strategy of neutralisation (Sebba 1998:48) allows exchanging a word by integrating it into a structure of the base language that does not require the grammatical elements that would make the new structure ungrammatical in this language. For instance, serial verb constructions may avoid the need for verbal inflection, so that if inflection cannot be accepted in the base language, the exchanged term can still be used in a grammatically acceptable sentence. A

compromise strategy (Sebba 1998:49) can result in the production of a structure violating the grammatical rules of both languages involved. Thus, the structure used is innovative and, as such, is not submitted to established criteria of grammaticality. An example of this strategy would be bare forms.

The strategies identified by Sebba may result in convergence between two linguistic systems in contact, through the establishment of a mixed structure which is innovative as far as the grammar of the base language is concerned. Once such a structure has been accepted, it results in the modification of the grammar of one language so as to resemble the grammar of the other language.

Sebba has begun to establish a theoretical model that can account for all forms of CS, while recognising that CS may obey universal structural constraints, by considering the creative role of speakers in constructing congruent systems. By identifying how different grammatical categories are forced into congruence by speakers, Sebba also points out a way to create a universal typology of grammatical categories, necessary to understand which categories can be made equivalent and how. This could lead to recognising and identifying principles of Universal Grammar across grammatical systems with little equivalence.

It is now necessary to present the main model used over the last twenty-five years to analyse CS, which is also the first attempt to establish a general theory of CS along the constraints of Universal Grammar, namely Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame Model.

2.2 Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame Model

Myers-Scotton (1993a; 1993b; 2002) developed a “production-based model which sees code switching constraints as set by processes which operate well before the positional level at which surface orders and structure orders are realized” (Myers-Scotton 1993a:6). The Matrix Language Frame model (henceforth MLF model) relies on the assumption that the Matrix Language sets the structural rules for speech, and that mixed elements can only be inserted within the Matrix Language frame, without affecting the syntax of the Matrix Language. The MLF model considers the frame to be made of the morpheme order (syntax of the matrix) and system morphemes (the morphemes organising the structure, basically function morphemes). All foreign elements that are inserted in the matrix are referred to as Embedded material, from an Embedded Language.

A complex trait of the MLF model has to do with the concept of lemma. Winford (2003:141) explains that

“Levelt (1989:6) defines a lemma as the non-phonological part of an item’s lexical entry, including its syntactic and semantic properties as well as certain aspects of its morphology. Lemma information regarding meaning and grammatical relations is included within the formulator, along with information concerning word order and phonological form. The MLF model follows Levelt in distinguishing three levels of representation for abstract lemmas: lexical-conceptual structure, predicate argument structure, and morphological realization patterns (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:85).”

Myers-Scotton (2002:64) sees the Matrix Language as the right frame which should be analysed at the phrase level, considering that “there are some corpora in which the Matrix Language does change from one sentence to the next, or even from one CP to the next, but again I emphasize not within the same CP.” However, while the Matrix Language was first understood as the variety or ‘language’ supporting speech, Myers-Scotton (2002:66) later redefined it to respond to criticism that did not see the matrix as necessarily imposing the internal structure of a recognisable ‘language.’ She wrote that “the Matrix Language is not to be equated with an existing language; rather, one should view the Matrix Language as an abstract frame for the morphosyntax of the bilingual CP.” Therefore, the ‘matrix’ becomes simply the mental structure that each speaker, independently, can create for his/her mixed speech. The recognisable ‘language’ that it draws from is termed ‘the source’ of the Matrix Language. From this more recent perspective, it seems difficult to justify the fact that the Matrix Language could be a ‘matrix,’ with structural rules obeying universal principles.

Myers-Scotton (2002:112) recapitulates the seven principles of the MLF models, which she claims apply universally:

“1. One variety is consistently the single source of the frame of bilingual CPs; thus, the source of the Matrix Language does not change within any single bilingual CP.

2. Theoretically, the source of the Matrix Language may change in a conversation (but not within a CP) as topics or some participants change; however, even such changes are rare or non-existent in most corpora.

3. When what I label compromise strategies (bare forms, Embedded Language islands, etc.) occur within a bilingual CP, the Matrix Language for the entire CP does not change.

4. As a pragmatic strategy, structures that are marked for the Matrix Language frame (e.g. Marked word order) are allowed. Yet, this is not intended as an escape hatch, allowing many apparent counter-examples to be explained as ‘marked’.

5. At most, the Matrix Language shows only minor, infrequent instances of convergence

toward structures in the Embedded Language as long as the bilingual situation remains relatively stable.

6. Some communities with many near-balanced bilinguals provide a different pattern from the prevalence of bilingual CPs. The MLF model still applies, but it is relevant to less data because the number of monolingual CPs increases and of bilingual CPs decreases.

7. For such bilinguals, the dominant pattern may be the alternation between monolingual CPs in each of their languages. That is, the Matrix Language still does not change within a bilingual CP; however, the Matrix Language may well change within a conversation (e.g. Second generation Turks in Tilburg, the Netherlands, Backus (1996).”

Points 1 and 2 will be apparent in the data: I will be able to show what proportion of the data conforms to these two rules, and if so what proportion does not.

Point 3 may be tested in the case where islands can be identified. This would certainly imply that the language used in islands should have a particular status as a separate variety for the speakers. Then, it will be necessary to verify whether the base language can change.

Point 4 explains how non-regular structures might occur in the base language, without affecting the categorisation of structure as belonging to it. This point is paradoxical: in the case of syntactic transfer, it would be necessary to consider that the base language is affected (transformed), yet it would remain the base language. I do not subscribe to this assumption: if the base language is affected, it is already a different variety from the so-called Matrix Language, and even though Myers-Scotton claims that there is no change of the ‘source’ within a phrase, there can obviously be a change *in* the ‘source.’ This might explain why Myers-Scotton redefined the Matrix Language as ‘an abstract form’ in the mind of the bilingual speaker.

Point 5 states that syntactic transfer will remain marginal, and yet it subjects the assumption to sociolinguistic factors — “as long as the bilingual situation remains relatively stable.” I am not quite sure how to recognise a “relatively stable” bilingual situation, but I am sure that this case cannot encompass all CS situations. I will argue that CS can also be a transitory phenomenon in the constitution of a stable mixed variety, which does not imply a stable relation between neighbouring varieties, but a process of evolution and change. In this case, transfer should become more and more widespread with time.

Point 6 and 7 refer to the case of a “near-balanced,” separate practice of bilingualism. In this case, languages remain structurally separate, which does not bear any resemblance with the practice of language in White City.

According to Myers-Scotton, this seven-point framework predicts the structural shape of the

outcome of the CS process. In other words, it is concerned with structural, not sociolinguistic patterns. Myers-Scotton (2002:41) can then write that

“the codeswitching form may or may not reoccur; it has no predictive value. Following Myers-Scotton (1993a; 1997 Chapter 6), I argue that any established borrowed form achieves the cognitive status of being projected by lemmas tagged for the recipient language (although lemmas supporting them certainly can remain in the mental lexicon tagged for the source language as well). In contrast, the premise is that those content morphemes that are labelled as code-switching forms have entries tagged only for the embedded language in the mental lexicon. If they are used frequently enough, they can achieve status in the recipient language, too, as borrowed forms. This happens when lemmas for them as borrowed forms are added to the recipient language’s store in the mental lexicon to support them.”

The process Myers-Scotton describes here is not only one of speech production, but also one of change implementation in a variety, which requires submitting the mental construction of concepts to the structure of (a) language. As such, lexical items are ‘tagged,’ otherwise it seems they cannot be used – since they are not submitted to either the Matrix Language or the Embedded Language. The difference between borrowing and single-morpheme CS would be the language for which the item was ‘tagged.’

However one can argue against the assumptions contained in the statement. The data reveals that although the distinction between varieties is a sociolinguistic reality in White City, as it is in the larger South African society, it is sometimes impossible to characterise speech as one ‘language.’ In addition, it is doubtful that the youngest children in White City are able to ‘tag’ embedded items as, for instance, English, considering that they may have no command of English as a separate variety.

The MLF model results in the four following constraints on the output of language contact in the form of CS (which, according to Myers-Scotton, includes instances that can be qualified as borrowing or transfer in my typology). Winford (2003:140) gives a concise account of the four constraints, some of which are directly drawn from the seven general principles of the MLF model described above:

“I. The Matrix Language hypothesis.
The ML sets the morphosyntactic frame for ML+EL constituents.

From this follow two related principles:

a. The morpheme order principle:

Morpheme order must not violate ML language morpheme order.

b. The system morpheme principle:

All syntactically relevant system morphemes must come from the ML.

II. The blocking hypothesis.

The ML blocks the appearance of any EL content morphemes which do not meet certain congruency conditions with ML counterparts.

III. The EL island trigger hypothesis.

Whenever an EL morpheme appears which is not permitted under either the ML hypothesis or the blocking hypothesis, the constituent containing it must be completed as an obligatory EL island.

IV. The EL implicational hierarchy hypothesis.

Optional EL islands occur; generally they are only those constituents which are either formulaic or idiomatic or peripheral to the main grammatical arguments of the sentence.”

These constraints will be tested in Chapter 7. A particularly relevant aspect of testing the MLF model through the use of both Iscamtho and mixed speech in White City lies in the fact that Sowetan Iscamtho, seen as a CS variety, was used by Myers-Scotton to demonstrate the claims of the MLF model (see Slabbert & Myers-Scotton 1997).

Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000, 2001) later developed another theoretical model, known as the 4-M model, to strengthen her claims related to the four constraints above, although the 4-M model is not strictly concerned with language contact. The 4-M model identifies four kinds of morphemes, according to their syntactic role in the sentence. On the one hand, the authors distinguish content morphemes, which play no role in syntax. On the other hand, system morphemes are divided into three categories:

- Early system morphemes add information to the content morpheme (for instance, gender or number affixes), and their production is tied to the conceptualisation of the content morpheme.

- Bridge late system morphemes do not relate to content, but they are a necessary grammatical structure to ensure the well-formedness of a content proposition (for instance, a possessive preposition).

- Late external system morphemes are determined by agreement with a feature that is outside the proposition in which the morpheme occurs. These would typically be inflectional affixes.

According to the 4-M model, the four different kinds of morphemes are not conceptualised at the same point in the process of producing a sentence. This is presented by Myers-Scotton (2002:78) as the Differential Access Hypothesis: “Information supporting content morphemes and early

system morphemes is salient in the mental lexicon, but information about late system morphemes does not become salient until the level of the Formulator when larger constituents are assembled.” The consequence of the 4-M model over CS is that since all morphemes do not take their source at the same conceptual level in speech production, some need to be submitted to the previous content and structure conceptualised by the speaker. Thus, the 4-M model explains why the MLF model can postulate the four constraints above.

Myers-Scotton (2002:130) also extends her claims to the specific case of CS involving Bantu languages and English. She studied Swahili in particular, an Eastern Bantu language with a structure somewhat similar to that of Zulu. She observes that inclusion of English lexicon (that is, in my terms, borrowing) involves a zero class prefix on the noun, while in accordance with Bantu morphology, the dependents of the noun show class agreement:

“As it applies to Bantu languages, the Uniform Structure Principle must stipulate that every noun has to have a noun-class membership. Therefore, the principle could add specifications for a noun class to the lemma (in the mental lexicon) of any alien (Embedded Language) noun. The default class for alien nouns in Swahili would be 9/10 while in Shona it would be class 9 for singular, but class 6 for plurals. However, there would be a provision general to Bantu languages to allow any noun class with a zero as one of the allomorphs for its prefix to be available to embedded language nouns. A general provision (still in line with the Uniform Structure Principle) could override the first provision and variably allow any alien noun for humans to govern class 1/2 co-indexing properties, while still receiving the default noun-class prefix for the language.”

Taking note of the proposal concerning “a provision general to Bantu languages” according to which English borrowings may take a bare form in a Bantu structure, so as to allow their inclusion in noun classes that are not the “default class for alien nouns,” I need to stress that Zulu does not have a class with zero prefix on the noun. However the data shows cases of prefix elision. I will compare these cases to see if English borrowings have any impact upon the noun class system.

Another observation of Myers-Scotton’s (2002:132) that should be tested concerns the kind of material that can be borrowed. She observes that

“Very few embedded language adjectives modifying Matrix Language nouns occur in code-switching corpora, possibly because of congruence problems at all levels. In Schmitt (2001) there are only 5 English adjectives out of 146 English elements in one of her

Russian/English corpora. True, there are 27 adjectives (types) in the Nairobi Swahili/English corpus; yet, they are all bare, indicating congruence problems (and compare this number with 141 nouns (types)).”

Several points are made in this quote. Firstly, a claim is made that adjectives are rarely borrowed into a base language. No distinction is made between morphological adjectives and semantic adjectives, but as I understand it, a morphological adjective in the source language sometimes may not be used as such in the base language. Thus, the data contain many English adjectives used as predicative in Zulu – the morphological adjective structure being rare in Zulu, as compared to the predicative structure. This must be balanced against the fact that Bantu languages are scarce in (morphological) adjectives: Standard Zulu counts less than twenty, including numbers from one to five. So one might expect a certain need to resort to a larger corpus of semantic adjectives in the urban context (see Chapter 3), but not necessarily through an adjectival structure. Also, it is said that adjectives tend to appear in Bantu syntax as bare forms. Both the frequency and the structure of adjective borrowings will be tested in the data. When it comes to bare forms, Myers-Scotton (1993a:97) considers that they often arise from a lack of congruence, but she admits that some bare forms remain unexplained.

Winford (2003:148) discusses other points critiquing the MLF model, noting that there are exceptions to the absolute control of the base language frame. One of these concerns “double morphology,” where a borrowed item includes system morphemes from both the base language and the source language. But to Myers-Scotton, as the morphemes from the source language do not influence the syntax of the sentence, this case does not question the system morpheme principle.

Moreover, Winford (2003:132) considers a point of methodology, regarding the assumption that CS is submitted to constraints of equivalence to allow the exchange of lexical material into a new frame, what he calls “surface equivalence in syntagmatic relations across categories.” He remarks that

“They seem to assume that the two languages involved in code switching share the same categories, when in fact categories in different languages often fail to match each other closely. Muysken (1995:193) points to several examples of such categorial mismatch – for instance between clitic and non-clitic pronouns, different types of determiners and demonstratives, different types of auxiliaries, and so on. These types of mismatch often result in omissions of constituents, and other kinds of restructuring in code-switching

discourse.”

Sebba (1998) has addressed this issue, noting that equivalence between categories can be artificially constructed by speakers, resulting in congruent structures in both languages. These structures may be innovative.

Even one of the most striking claims made by Myers-Scotton has come under scrutiny in the last decade. As Winford observes, “the fact is that several types of function morphemes can be switched. The solution proposed by the MLF model is that the latter are in fact content morphemes and therefore subject only to the Blocking Hypothesis” (Winford 2003:150). According to the blocking hypothesis, the syntactic structure of the base language will block the appearance of system morphemes from the source language that do not present congruence with the base language system. Content morphemes are those morphemes that bring content (nouns, verbs, adjectives...) without leaving an impact on the structure (as opposed for instance to pronouns or articles, when they show gender and number, as these may induce necessary agreement in other constituents).

Finally, regarding the concept of ‘Embedded Language Island,’ Winford (2003:155) writes that:

“Myers-Scotton’s EL Island Trigger Hypothesis claims that if an EL lemma or morpheme is not licensed under the ML or Blocking Hypothesis is activated or accessed, the current constituent must be completed as an EL island (1993a:139). [...] The EL island hypothesis similarly predicts that combinations like *this jioni* “this evening,” *for wewe* “for you,” etc. are impossible in Swahili-English code switching, because of a lack of congruence (in position and / or morphological realization) between system morphemes like this and for, and their Swahili counterparts.”

Congruence is an important concept of CS studies, and Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995:995) consider that “insufficient congruence across the code-switching pair, either in semantic / pragmatic features or in predicate argument structure, triggers EL islands. In such cases, it becomes impossible to accommodate EL material in a mixed constituent; hence the speaker resorts to an entire EL island.” If any such examples were to appear in the data, the concept of congruence would have to be revised. But their position is in contradiction with Sebba’s (1998) who remarked that congruence problems could always be overcome by the speakers, as they construct congruence between non-equivalent categories.

Two other important critics of the MLF model need be described. MacSwan (2005) relies on models of syntax studies, to argue that the Uniform Structure Principle (made of the system morpheme principle and the morpheme order principle) is not verified in his syntactic analysis of mixed sentences. Relying on the Chomskyan theory known as Minimalist Program, MacSwan argues that mixed constituents that violate the MLF model can be efficiently explained through a syntactic minimalist approach. He concludes (2005:20) that the MLF model fails to account for all forms of mixed constituents, while minimalist syntax studies can explain all mixed structures without referring to any of the principles that support the MLF model.

Gafaranga (2000), relying on Auer (1997), argues that it is often impossible to identify a base language from the linguist's perspective. Hence his proposal to identify the 'code' or 'medium' of conversation from the speaker's perspective. As a result, he demonstrates that the medium of a CS conversation is often not an addition of base languages but that, rather, the medium itself must be defined as being multilingual, with its own structural rules. The medium may also be perceived as different not on the ground of the language used, but on the ground of particular lexicon, style, tone or other linguistic and paralinguistic factors. Yet the identification of a multilingual medium is an act of social positioning and negotiation, and thus CS must be analysed as a social behaviour, rather than as the implementation of structural rules. Gafaranga (2000) supports my approach which consists in defining Iscamtho from a social perspective, and especially based on judgements made by local informants regarding what 'medium' is being used. At the same time, he also contests one of the most basic assumptions of the MLF model, that a base language is always identifiable on a structural basis.

To conclude with the MLF model, I need to present its claims regarding the social motivations of CS. Myers-Scotton's Markedness model was conceived as the social dimension of her theory, the MLF model being the structural dimension. It presents the speaker's CS behaviours as choices, governed by a market-like set of social interactions. In this regard, Myers-Scotton (2002:46) explains that

“speakers take account of readings of markedness when they make choices in using one language rather than another. What is emphasized is that choices are best explained as cognitively based calculations that depend on their estimations of what choices offer them the greatest rewards, given the available evidence. What this means is that a bilingual may see switching languages at some point in a conversation as a way to optimize reward.”

The model also explains how CS can become an unmarked form of language in a society, admitting that “when group social identities, rather than an individual’s social identity, are the issue, and accommodation is a goal, code-switching may be employed as a neutral strategy. This is so in situations where ethnicity or socioeconomic status, or both, differ across participants” (Myers-Scotton 2002:47).

The MLF model presents a view of language contact as ruled by rigid linguistic structural constraints, and interest-motivated behavioural choices. It is a vision of language practice as driven by economic principles of costs and benefits that Myers-Scotton draws, in which the possibilities of the speaker are limited by external factors (linguistic and social), that are not to be overcome.

Conclusion:

In this chapter, I have detailed the relevant theories of language contact to be used in this thesis. I have tried to underline an analytic model which integrates general language contact issues with CS issues, and I have presented the main theoretical models regarding the outcome of both contact and code alternations.

The next chapter presents the relevant theoretical literature regarding language in the urban context, particularly in South Africa. I mean to offer in this thesis a view on language as a creative process, both inherited and recreated, in which social considerations may always overcome linguistic constraints. The modern urban context must be taken into account, as must deliberate linguistic behaviours, including transgression. In order to provide a framework for this different perspective on language contact, it is now necessary to present recent anthropological and social perspectives on urbanisation, and the impact of social factors on language.

Chapter 3: Language in the Urban and South African Contexts

This chapter presents a review of the necessary literature regarding urban setting, its effects on language, and how this reflects in the South African context. These fields are relevant in explaining the social aspect of language contact and language in an urban setting, including issues of language ideology, registers, styles as well as the social motivations of the speaker to alternate from one to the other. Finally, the last relevant field is tsotsitaal studies *per se*, considering that the tsotsitaal phenomenon has been studied by linguists for more than thirty years, but that many questions are still unanswered (see Chapter 1).

In Section 1, I detail a number of social and sociolinguistic concepts used in previous literature to explain the urban context and resulting linguistic behaviours, especially multilingual behaviours, urban styles and the strategies supporting them. I present the literature concerned with issues of language ideologies, and how they shape language. In Section 2, I present the state of the debate on tsotsitaals, with a special focus on Soweto, which has been one of the most favoured fields by researchers interested in Iscamtho over the last twenty-five years. I also introduce the specific literature on urban language in South Africa, and particularly the question of tsotsitaals and Iscamtho.

1. Linguistic Ideologies in the Urban Context, and their Expression in Variation through Register, Style and Slang

In this section, I present the relevant social theories of language that can explain White City children's speech. In a first sub-section, I focus on the issue of language ideology, since it is the main factor controlling sociolinguistic behaviours, and on how it can impact on speech. Special attention is given to urban context, as it results in particular ideologies. In a second sub-section, I discuss the concepts of register, style and slang, which can be and have been applied to Iscamtho.

1.1 Language Ideologies in the Urban Context.

What is Language Ideology?

Language ideology is a broad concept which has been successively defined in different manners. As stressed by Woolard (1998a:3), language ideology cannot be approached by focusing only on linguistic issues, considering that

“ideologies of language are not about language alone. Rather, they envision and enact ties of language to identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology. Through such linkages, they underpin not only linguistic form and use but also the very notion of the person and the social group, as well as such fundamental social institutions as religious ritual, child socialization, gender relations, the nation-state, schooling and law.”

Language ideology is inscribed in an individual's, a community's or a society's understanding of the world, and of how language should operate in it. Language ideology was defined mainly as mental and moral perceptions on language. It has been described as “shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world” (Rumsey 1990:346); as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein 1979:193); as “the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvine 1989:255); or again as “beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use that [...] index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups and nation states” (Kroskrity 2002:1; for a review of the concept, see Milani 2013).

All the above definitions agree in considering language ideologies as basically ideas about language, linguistic behaviours and their context. However, Woolard (1998a:6) warns against the reduction of ideologies to a mental aspect:

“In much recent theory, ideology is not necessarily conscious, deliberate, or systematically organized thought, or even thought at all; it is simply behavioral, practical, pre-reflective, or structural. Signification – or more simply, meaning – rather than ideation in a mentalist sense is the core phenomenon in these contemporary uses.”

Woolard's perspective ties the signification of the linguistic behaviour to the practice of this behaviour, rather than to perceptions of it. Following this assumption, one can argue that change in the social and symbolic meaning of a linguistic behaviour (while the behaviour remains the same) may arise from change in the sociology (gender, number, ethnicity, economic power, cultural capital, social influence...) of the individuals and groups who practise this behaviour, before it arises in conceptual thought and discourse.

Thus, I can propose the following hypothesis, which applies to White City's mixed variety and to Iscamtho: if a certain linguistic behaviour arises in a marginal part of a newly constituted urban centre, for instance the youth, its meaning may change when those who practise it stop being

considered as marginal, either in terms of numbers, or in terms of social and cultural influence. Section 4 details the patterns through which this process must have occurred in White City.

How Language Ideology Can Shape the Structure of Speech

While historically “modern linguistics in the Bloomfieldian tradition has generally assumed that linguistic ideology and prescriptive norms have little significant – or, paradoxically, only pernicious – effect on speech forms” (Woolard 1998a:11), Woolard remarks that more recent work has stressed the importance of language ideologies and their impact on linguistic behaviours on the form of language. As such, Silverstein (1985:220) could claim that “the total linguistic fact, the datum for a science of language, is irreducibly dialectic in nature. It is an unstable mutual interaction of meaningful sign forms contextualized to situations of interested human use mediated by the fact of cultural ideology.” Rumsey (1990:357) goes even further, writing that:

“Language structure and linguistic ideology are not entirely independent from each other, nor is either determined entirely by the other. Instead the structure provides formal categories of a kind that are particularly conducive to “misrecognition.” And partly as a result of the misrecognition, might not the linguistic system gradually change so as to approximate that for which it was recognized?”

What is argued for here is a natural process through which people’s understanding of how their language works, does not always fit the inner structural mechanisms of this language, as identified by experts. But their understanding will shape the structure of the vernacular language, until it fits the speakers’ view, rather than the experts’ prescriptions.

Woolard (1998a:16) also describes the particular focus of research in language ideology on multilingual contexts:

“In multilingual communities where there have been self-conscious struggles over language, researchers have long treated language ideologies (in one guise or another) as socially, politically, and even linguistically significant. [...] Dimensions of language that have been treated in such work include: ideas of what counts as a language and, underlying these, the very notion that there are distinctly identifiable languages, objects that can be “had” – isolated, named, counted and fetishized; values associated with particular language varieties by community members; assumptions that identity and allegiance are indexed by language use.”

The question of what counts as a language is important in trying to understand White City children's speech: as shown in Section 2, whether there is CS in their speech depends on the understanding by the children and the larger community around them of what a language is. Furthermore, the use of Iscamtho, as well as the sociolinguistic modalities of it, reflects certain language ideologies. The data analysis in Chapters 5 to 7 helps to identify the ideologies driving the children's speech, especially through the analysis of selected conversations in Chapter 6. Yet I did not collect perceptions from the children but, rather, interactions. It is therefore through the children's behaviours that I may identify ideologies of their community.

Spitulnik (1998:164) identifies three main processes through which language ideologies can impact upon social and linguistic behaviours, when she states that "language ideologies are, among other things, about the construction and legitimation of power, the production of social relations of sameness and difference, and the creation of cultural stereotypes about types of speakers and social groups." In this regard, researchers have been particularly interested in unequal balances of power in contexts of multilingualism: varieties come to bear unequal ideological values, and their social status is affected. This situation has most often had negative consequences on the social status of urban informal varieties, and on their perception by observers. As Woolard (1998a:17) remarks, "language mixing, codeswitching, and creolization thus make speech varieties particularly vulnerable to folk and prescriptivist evaluation as grammarless and/or decadent and therefore as less than fully formed."

In a situation of contact, the modalities of language contact are also determined by ideologies, and these are in turn influenced by the social modalities of contact: is it conflict, exchange or mixing? In a given context, "communities not only evaluate but may appropriate some part of the linguistic resources of groups with who they are in contact and in tension, refiguring and incorporating linguistic structures in ways that reveal linguistic and social ideologies" (Woolard 1998a:20).

In an emerging urban society, where the need to live together in a new diversity puts pressure on linguistic practices, change affects at the same time social behaviours, social and linguistic ideologies as well as language structure. To shed light on how the present practices of White City children came to be, it is necessary to present a number of analytical concepts describing ways in which, when a new social ideology emerges, it can translate into linguistic behaviour. I argue that

such behaviours can generalise and stabilise.

Language and the Urban Context

One can make assumptions about the exact past mechanisms that resulted in the present sociolinguistic situation in White City. However, only the description of a specific context can enable us to describe a process of urbanisation, considering that each urban context has its own social, economic, cultural, ethnic or linguistic characteristics. Anthropologist Clyde Mitchell – one of the founders of the Manchester School, who developed the anthropological methodology of urban studies in Southern Central Africa in the 1940s – noted that “the most we can do is to establish types of cities with similar basic demographic, geographic, and urban characteristics ... and then specify the urban contexts implied by these characteristics” (Mitchell 1987:21).

Mitchell’s experience in the field of urban studies in Africa allowed him to warn researchers about an aspect of the African city that is not the same in other contexts around the world: ethnicity, and ethnic diversity. On this issue, Mitchell (1987:182) calls for researchers to avoid preconceptions created by external analyses of ethnicity:

“We need to distinguish between ethnicity construed as the way in which a set of actors make use of and display their particular common cultural characteristics in some social situation and ethnicity as the way in which observed or presumed differences in culture become an element in inter-group relationships in some social setting.”

1.2 From Ideology to New Sociolinguistic Norms

The concept of register is used to describe and categorise variations in speech, which are tied to factors such as settings, people, topics or domains. According to Biber (2006:246), register is “a cover term for any language variety defined by its situational purpose,” and one could add that the variations are located within a ‘language’ and correspond to norms: either norms of the larger linguistic community, for instance according to shared rules of propriety, formality and authority among others; or norms of the smaller peer group, where ‘ways’ of speaking may signal belonging. This is translated into the practice of a form of group rite, for instance in greeting or discussing topics such as sports, the other sex or whatever domain is shared in a meaningful way by the group. A register can differ from another within the same language through potentially many features:

lexicon, phonology, semantics or even syntax.

Biber (2006:246, brackets in original) lists the factors that differentiate a register from another, “including the participants (including their relationships and their attitudes toward the communication); the setting (including factors such as the extent to which time and place are shared among participants and the level of formality); the channel (or mode) of communication; the production and processing circumstances; the purpose of communication; and the topic.” If these factors may be identifiable for any register, there is no possible extension of the characteristics of a register as understood in one community, into another community. On the contrary, each society, culture, community, sub-culture, etc. may not only have its own norms and ideology regarding the practice of language, but also its own definition of registers, or their meanings.

Registers are not always a conscious form of language variation in that socialisation, whatever its modalities, includes the transmission of language behaviour norms. In this regard, Biber (2006:181) writes that

“switching among registers is as natural as human language itself. Consequently, the study of register variation is not a supplement to the description of grammar, discourse, and language use; rather, it is central to these enterprises.”

How can the concept of register apply to the children’s speech? More precisely, can register variation correlate with language variation? And can it correlate with the use of Iscamtho items? If so, it will be necessary to test, in the data, whether the use of Iscamtho items intervenes in speech in different registers, or whether it involves a register of its own. Furthermore, the same question applies to multilingual speech, and in Chapter 5 I examine the correlation between language mix and register. It is also necessary to understand how multilingual speech and/or Iscamtho may have become registers of the local variety.

Registers from Community Norm to Individual Identity

William Labov established the principles of variationist studies through his studies in Martha’s Vineyard and in New York (Labov, Cohen & Robins 1965; Labov 1966). He showed that the use of particular pronunciation traits and accents could be related to an individual’s social background factors such as class or working conditions, as well as to individual and collective identities, aspirations and ideologies. Following Labov, several theories of speech variation were developed. The Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) was developed by Howard Giles and his

collaborators, originally psycholinguists. Fought (2006:211) sums up their position, noting that

“Giles and his colleagues’ studies showed that individuals tend to converge with the speech of the person they are addressing, particularly when they want to position themselves as socially acceptable to their addressee. In other cases, individuals might diverge from the speech of the addressee in order to highlight a separate identity.”

According to the Communication Accommodation Theory, register variation is a response to the need to affirm one’s identity in the exchange, either in accordance or in conflict with the addressee. The model was later extended by Bell (1984), who included among the addressee, others who are not directly part of the interaction, either because they may be observing it, or because the participants express their identity according to the larger society. In this case, absent people or settings may be relevant to variation in a specific conversation.

When a part of the community regularly and meaningfully starts to use foreign linguistic material, may CS develop as a register of the community’s language? Silverstein (1998:130, all emphasis in original) explains the sociolinguistic motivation of establishing a certain use of language as a register – a process which he refers to as ‘enregisterment’:

“For example, consider the concept of register, a minimally binary paradigm of ways of “saying the same thing” distinctly indexically appropriate to two (or more) contexts of usage, however defined. Note that the “sameness” of denotational value of two or more distinct word-forms or expressions is built into the register concept; this is an ideologically driven mirage from the structural linguistic point of view of Saussurean ‘sense’ (*signifié*). [...] However, from the perspective of users of such enregistered denotational forms, these are indexically pregnant paradigms of “equivalence” – a denotational “equivalence” that founds registers within some sociolinguistics, never merely denotational-structural (and hence Saussurean- Bloomfieldian-Chomskyan) order. [...] The register concept, moreover, allows us to capture something of what it means to have a *linguistic community* in which we find an ideology of “speaking the same language.”

To explain the development of new registers, Silverstein has developed the concept of ‘indexical order,’ which Woolard (1998a:18) explains as follows:

“In the transformation of first-order indexicality into second-order indexicality, instances of speech that are statistically associable with an aggregate of individuals are typified by

community members or experts as particular ways of speaking that are schematized as categorically associated with types of people.”

The first order of indexicality refers to the primary symbolic meaning of the instance of speech, while the second refers to the symbolic social meaning it acquires as it becomes typical of one category of speakers, in the perceptions of another category of speakers. At some point in the development of mixed speech and Iscamtho in White City, there must have been a sociological change in the people who used both ‘ways of speaking,’ which triggered a change in the social meaning of each. I argue that mixed speech, or CS, became the ‘way’ associated with Sowetan identity, ethnic and linguistic diversity, as well as modernity and urbanity. Iscamtho was also associated with urbanity and modernity, but from the perspective of city-slickness. It then became associated with the involvement in violent forms of political resistance, especially from 1976: on the one hand, the youth claimed the association of Iscamtho with roughness and rebelliousness, as they adopted means of revolt that encompassed these traits; on the other hand, the violent revolt of 1976 marked a rupture with the traditional means of political action of Black South African people, and at least in White City, this rupture was signalled through the use of the local ‘lingo’ (a term commonly used in Soweto) by the youth who resorted to violent resistance.

Both mixed speech and Iscamtho have been noted to provide speakers with a shared feeling of identity; they have also been identified as means of adapting to a speaker or a setting (Childs 1997; Slabbert & Myers-Scotton 1997; or Finlayson, Calteaux & Myers-Scotton 1998). In this observation, the data analysis will help us distinguish Iscamtho in this observation, and multilingualism. But the concept of register may apply differently to both aspects of the children’s speech. Hence the necessity of understanding two key aspects of the establishment of registers in the field:

- How can CS become an informal youth register, and then develop into the ‘neutral’ register of a community?
- How does a style for young adult males become a low slang register used across older, middle-aged and young generations?

What is the social meaning of informal varieties in a context of language contact? The concept of antilanguage was developed by Halliday (1975) to refer to a variety that expresses opposition and antisocial positioning towards the dominant social order. Is it possible that either Iscamtho, or the then local mixed style, or even both, once shared the properties of antilanguages? This would

explain why they were associated with each other by speakers and observers. When could it have taken place? I can only consider that CS could have had antilinguistic characteristics at the very beginning of the urbanisation process in Soweto. This is based on testimonies by men and women in their sixties according to whom mixed speech was already the norm in their homes when they were children.

So were CS and Iscamtho both considered as antilinguistic registers before Iscamtho became widespread? If so, then why would CS have become a neutral register, while Iscamtho remained a slang? If not, then CS and Iscamtho could have been conceptually associated for their urban nature. Rural people must have seen both registers as one ‘way of speaking,’ while local urban people may have wanted to stress the urban nature of the local variety, to preserve the status of the standard as the language of traditional culture. As such, they would have referred to their everyday mixed speech as Iscamtho, rather than as Zulu for instance. Another possibility is that Iscamtho lost its antilinguistic character, or at least its criminal antisocial character, long ago, and that its urban stylistic dimensions were preserved. This stylistic dimension implies ‘coolness,’ creativity, city-slickness as well as local identity, and it is inclusive of the ethnic and linguistic diversity of the urban melting-pot. This could explain why Iscamtho and CS developed at the same time, and why as CS became a stable local native variety, Iscamtho may have become a low register of this variety, used even among children.

I have explained how registers may emerge and become a norm. Two other specific kinds of speech variation are particularly appropriate to the description of Iscamtho: style and slang.

1.3 Style and Styles

As noted by Verdonk (2006:107), “style has a phenomenal as well as a conceptual element, which, though they can be distinguished, are at the same time inseparably interconnected.” In other words, the performance of any style is tied to ideas, beliefs, or interests about the style, and about performing the style. Hence, “the attribution of a particular style to some artifact, action, or performance entails all kinds of underlying social, cultural, and ideological implications” (Verdonk, 2006:107).

So what is the purpose of style? The interests, beliefs or motivations of a particular performance by a particular person cannot be predicted out of context. But as rightfully stressed by Verdonk (2006:201), “rhetoric and style are definitely audience-directed.” So regardless of the purpose, style is meant to convey a particular message to the audience. Thus,

“style is seen as the making of conscious and unconscious choices of certain linguistic forms and structures in preference to others that could have been chosen but were not. [...] These choices, which may also be regarded as stylistic markers, are assumed to be made on particular levels of the structure of language (the text) in relation to the contextual and communicative situation (pragmatics and discourse)” (Verdonk 2006:203).

In this perspective, style is differentiated from register by the choice made by the speaker, and awareness about the meaning of the style. It is not just an adaptation to the norms of a setting, but the possibility of transgression and innovation regarding these norms. This distinction is necessary in the data analysis, as it makes it possible to distinguish a particular style from the local low register, namely Iscamtho slang, in the speech of the children. Style is located in individuals and their choices, while registers are located in a linguistic community, and are defined by place and norm rather than individual choice and purpose. But a question arises: what motivates the choice of style, and how does this choice operate?

Recent works on the issue of style variation are described by Fought (2006:211-212), who notes that “Rickford and McNair-Knox argued convincingly for the view of style as “a resource ..., an interactive and dynamic process” (1994:264) in which we see a confluence of numerous contextual and interpersonal factors.” Among the contextual factors, Eckert emphasized “the need to locate style within the practices that make up an individual’s personal and social identity” (Fought 2006:212), as well as the questions of “how the linguistic and other behaviors of particular small cohorts or individuals within a larger social group become salient” (Fought 2006:212), and how they acquire social meaning. However, Fought (2006:212) also warns the researcher of styles, noting that Rickford (2001:6)

“cautions sociolinguists against completely discarding analyses of larger social groups and their styles in favor of a focus solely on the individual and argues for using multiple approaches simultaneously. Eckert and Rickford offer this conclusion about style in their introduction: “As we move toward viewing social life as a continual process of constructing ... categories and identities, style becomes in addition a resource for the process of construction.”

Iscamtho and other tsotsitaals have been strongly associated with style by most observers. Hurst (2008, 2009) in particular has argued for an understanding of these varieties as motivated, justified

and maintained by style.

Stylect

Hurst's definition of a stylect is that of a concept "combining the two meanings of 'style' – linguistic and extra-linguistic – and [that] posits that Tsotsitaal is a lexicon (lect) inseparable from a discursive practice (style) which results in the construction of a relatively stable linguistic identity" (Hurst 2008:199, parentheses in original). Her focus is on the stylistic aspect of Tsotsitaal and tsotsitaals since the appearance of the tsotsi phenomenon in the 1940s, noting that "the use of Tsotsitaal is historically linked to a particular performance of violent masculinity (gangsterism) which is still prevalent today" (Hurst 2008:249). She expresses a view which I assume must be relevant for a previous stage of the development of Iscamtho in White City, when the local culture development was in progress, and which may be still relevant today, when she lists (Hurst 2008:250) the characteristics of Tsotsitaal that are appealing to its speakers and motivate the use of the urban stylect. Hurst argues that Tsotsitaal marks particular traits of speakers' identity: speakers are primarily young, urban, black and male; and through the use of the stylect, they distinguish themselves from the older generation, rural people, as well as the "white or European culture, and its cultural expressions (e.g. music, clothes)." They are also primarily male – and project a "particular masculinity, which involves being 'streetwise' or 'clever'."

The ideologies and stylistic motivations driving the children to use Iscamtho, may be in part inherited from the previous generations of Iscamtho users, but they may just as well have been invented in the context of children's interactions. Hence the necessity of examining whether Iscamtho is used by the children as a matter of style, or as a local low register.

A different perspective from the one presented in the above paragraphs may appear: within the field of White City and, more largely, Soweto, where Iscamtho has been well established for decades, one may see the use of the local tsotsitaal as marking similarity and unity rather than difference. Marking sameness in one relation is also marking difference in another, but this thesis focuses on a specific field. The children I studied do not have opportunities to extend their reach outside their field. As such, the social and symbolic meaning of Iscamtho that can be uncovered in the next chapters will have to be localised and contextualised.

Hurst considers the Tsotsitaal stylect of Cape Town to be expressed in language through a lexicon corpus. Gunnink (2012) and her association of objective grammatical modification with Iscamtho style, like the loosening of class agreement rules (Gunnink 2012:56, see Section 4), seem

to invalidate Hurst's assumption that the stylistic expression of Iscamtho is limited to lexicon, at least in White City. But possible grammatical transformations in the children's speech would be relevant only if the children practised them for stylistic purposes, and in association with Iscamtho lexicon. If not, I will not extend the definition of Iscamtho as slang lexicon. Also, Hurst's concept of Iscamtho as stylect was proposed to describe the language of adult males. I will assess whether, as a concept, stylect can apply to the use of Iscamtho by children.

1.4 Slang

Slang as a linguistic phenomenon has only been recently the object of serious studies, while it was an object of interest already about 300 years ago. Most literature on the topic extends from the 18th century to the 1950s. It is mainly constituted of collections of slang or colloquial terms, or sometimes professional or criminal jargons. These include for instance early studies of Cant and Rhyming Cockney (Partridge 1984, first edition 1937), and 19th century French argot and American slang (Barrère and Leland 1889, or Chapman 1986). But none of these works offers a reflection on what slang is as a linguistic phenomenon, and where it is located in language, or in a language. The academic interest for slang is actually recent.

The slang factor in language has been clarified with strong positive concern by Allen (1995). He offers a study of New York slang from the 19th to the mid-20th century through the way the language describes the city and its social life. As such, he clarifies the social dimension of slang, and in the introduction of the book (Allen 1995:1-14), offers a rich discussion of slang and colloquialism as compared to the standard form. He acknowledges the identificational and cohesive power of slang in a diverse migrants' city like New York. In New York, slang is to be taken as a register that newcomers to the city were attracted to, and which allowed them to create a bond with the locals. Slang is this register which, in a poor, booming, diverse urban centre makes it possible "to capture something of what it means to have a linguistic community," to use Silverstein's words (1998:130).

How can one recognise slang from other low registers, or from informal styles? De Klerk (2006:407) stresses the main characteristics of slang:

"firstly, slang is typical of the spoken, colloquial, informal aspects of human interaction, and its presence will markedly lower the dignity of formal or serious speech or writing since it is not generally accepted in standard educated speech. Secondly, typically such words are restricted in their social status and distribution, and they are more metaphorical and transitory than standard language, rapidly going in and out of fashion within the particular

subculture that knows and uses them. [...] A third feature of slang is the fact that it is generally vague in meaning, and slang words are notoriously difficult to define.”

Slang words are often acquired without thorough explanations about the meaning of the word, which favours multiple meanings, either widespread or localised. The purpose of slang is primarily to stress identity and belonging to a certain social group. Slang tends to be developed and invented in groups displaying strong bonds and solidarity. However, other purposes may be at stake. In this light, De Klerk (2006:408) notes that “one of the more positive functions of slang is its witty and humorous effect, often with a touch of creativity, driven by the constant desire to be innovative and create a rhetorical effect, such as incongruity, irreverence, or exaggeration.” This definition is close to the concept of style as developed above. Yet, the cohesive function of slang can be increased, and reach beyond the closed group of friends. Allen (1995) analysed the cohesive power of slang on the scale of New York City and its migrant populations. Hence the fact that slang should be seen as a societal norm, although of low status. In this perspective, slang is a register rather than a style. Slang may thus be used either as a low register or as part of a style, but its meaning can only be defined in a particular usage context.

Slang should be understood as the practice of language in society and for a social purpose, with as much disregard for the standard language as is required, for the speaker to match the requirements of his social insertion or his conforming to group identity. In slang speech, words may be transformed or shortened, and their meaning changed or twisted. Non-standard forms, rude forms, borrowed forms, invented forms may all compete to produce linguistic and extra-linguistic meaning, and the data analysis will help understanding how potential syntactic or morphological transformations might relate to slang lexicon. But from this creative stylistic perspective, slang may stabilise and its social status evolve, so as to become a common low register used in the same way by everyone in the local society. The potential stabilisation of Iscamtho lexicon in a low register can be compared to the mechanisms presented above, which favour rapid change in the nature of slang.

The use of slang terms is located in a community practice, which explains both why slang is improper outside the expected context, and why it might seem obscure to those who are not inside the group of users. Slang constitutes a practice of language with, as purpose, social interaction, with no real search for social domination or empowerment in the established social order – although these are factors in the locally created order, and stylistic display in language is a means of local empowerment. Given the recent academic turn towards slang, while slang is attested in times as

ancient as the Roman Empire, one can paraphrase Mufwene's (2001:20) statement about language contact, to state that slang as an everyday social practice in the urban setting "is probably more central to normal language evolution than has been recognized in historical and genetic linguistics."

It is necessary to ascertain, among other things, how far registers, slang and style are relevant to understanding Iscamtho, how they combine with each other in actual speech, and what kind of multilingual strategies and behaviours are tied to the display of Iscamtho.

2. Iscamtho among other African Urban Multilingual Phenomena

A study of the use of Iscamtho by children in White City, can only be conducted by contextualising it as a linguistic phenomenon developing in an African multilingual urban setting. This section describes the relevant literature that clarifies the terms of this statement.

In a first sub-section, I present literature on other examples of informal multilingual youth languages in Africa, where many varieties can be compared to either Iscamtho or White City's mixed variety. I describe the relevant aspects of the specific urban context of White City, and larger Soweto. In a second sub-section, I focus on how the urban context determined the rise of Iscamtho, and the linguistic and sociolinguistic characteristics of the mixed variety that supports it. I discuss the assumptions and conclusions made in previous literature about the origins of Iscamtho. In a third sub-section, I present the state of the debate regarding the sociolinguistic status of Iscamtho and other tsotsitaals in South Africa. I reflect on the specificities of the study field of White City, and I identify the points that must be clarified in the data analysis. In a fourth sub-section, I focus on the state of the debate regarding the linguistic structure of Iscamtho. I will raise the issue concerning which linguistic characteristics should be attributed to Iscamtho, and which should be recognised as characterising the local mixed variety. Furthermore, I also show how the data can help distinguish both.

2.1 Informal Languages in the African Urban Context

The African urban context presents a number of specificities. The first one is the young age of African cities: most African capitals and major cities are the product of colonial history, and some were only small towns five to ten decades ago. Johannesburg and its region, the Witwatersrand, were covered only with farming communities until the discovery of gold in 1886, and their

subsequent industrialisation was earlier than most in African contexts. By the start of World War One, Johannesburg was as modern a city as many European capitals (see Beavon 2004:17-70).

African capitals have also experienced geographic and population growth over the last sixty years. The development of these cities is related to the development of independent African nation-states since the 1950s. In the process of nation-building, major cities and their regions had great influence, attracting people from various regional, ethnic, linguistic or religious backgrounds, and favouring the emergence of mixed societies.

Fifty years and more after their independence, African countries have developed national identities, sometimes accompanied by clear linguistic identities as in the case of Tanzania with Swahili, or Zimbabwe with Shona. Others have seen the emergence of urbanised or even sometimes creolised forms of dominant languages as *linguae francae*, while maintaining the former colonial language as official language of the nation-state. In Côte d'Ivoire, French remains the official language, but Nouchi, also called 'Français d'Abidjan,' has gained influence beyond the former capital, as well as in popular culture. It has also been associated with the political and nationalist concept of Ivoirité in the last twenty years (see Newell 2009). In the Central African Republic, Sango has developed as a national mixed language, while French remained the official language.

In the post-colonial context, major cities were often the place where new national identities emerged and took root: migrations, ethnic and linguistic diversity, and the constitution of shared urban lifestyles and livelihoods in modernity were the source of new identities. The emergence of trans-community urban languages, even if they are antilanguages used by few, must be understood in the context of an emerging mixed urban society.

Sociolinguistic and linguistic literature focused on the African continent is rich in descriptions of language contact phenomena in the urban context, including CS, mixed languages, pidgins and creoles (see McLaughlin 2009). In addition, interesting literature exists in direct relation to Iscamtho, presenting situations of informal urban varieties born among the youth in a context of multilingualism.

Kiessling and Mous (2004) offer an overview of such varieties. The cases of Indoubil in Kinshasa, Nouchi in Abidjan and Sheng in Nairobi, seem to share many characteristics with the case of Iscamtho in Soweto. All have developed in urban centres where migrants from different ethnic backgrounds lived together. All represent a mix of the main local African language and the European language inherited from the country's colonising powers. And all have been noted to be

varieties used in inter-ethnic communication, at least to some extent.

The case of Sheng seems almost identical, considering that, although Sheng was born as an urban slang version of Swahili, it has developed and spread to such an extent that its boundaries with urban Swahili are quite blurred. Also, it serves as a lingua franca among members of different linguistic communities at least in Nairobi, and possibly further (Gibson 2012).

Informal urban languages around Africa share similar aspects, especially in their multilingual character. However, it is not clear if there are similar linguistic patterns that would be different from patterns observed elsewhere in situations of language contact.

A conference held by the University of Cape Town in July 2013⁹, which focused on African urban and youth languages, demonstrated that the urban youth language phenomenon is developing all over Africa. Varieties were presented from Ethiopia (Worku 2013), Cameroon (Ebongué 2013), Côte-d'Ivoire (Kouassi, Aboua & Heath 2013), as well as from Arabic-speaking countries like Algeria, Sudan and Libya (Manfredi & Peireira 2013). The emergence of these urban languages, and the strong social status that some of them attained, becoming *linguae francae* at the city level and beyond, must be contextualised in the post-colonial development of urban centres and nation-states mentioned above (see Laitin 2007). It is not clear, in the case of Sheng or Nouchi, whether a slang or style can be differentiated from the urban lingua franca. I wish to demonstrate that this is the case regarding Iscamtho. Nevertheless, the mixed urban speech analysed in the case of White City is only a local reflection of the larger urban variety of Zulu found around Johannesburg, and sometimes referred to as Johannesburg Zulu or Soweto Zulu (see Section 4).

Mitchell (1987) stressed that each urban context has its own specificities. In the case of Johannesburg, what relevant specificities can be identified? On the one hand, Johannesburg emerged very quickly as a modern industrial city (Beavon 2004). On the other, racial segregation was implemented almost from the beginning of the large-scale gold mining industry in the late 1880s, and was reversed by South African law only in 1994 (see Guillaume 1998 about the segregated geography of Johannesburg). Lemon (1991:117, quoted in Lester 1998) provides us with a map describing the typical geographic design of a South African city, according to the rules of colonial segregation and apartheid:

⁹ African Urban and Youth Languages conference, 5th and 6th of July 2013.

The satellite picture provided in Chapter 1 (page 7) shows how this typical pattern is organised in the case of Johannesburg and Soweto. The township is separated from the city to the East by an industrial zone, several gigantic mine dumps, a railway and a freeway. More mine dumps and industrial zonings also separate Soweto from the formerly White suburbs of Roodepoort to the North.

While the South Western Townships, or Soweto, were officially created in 1963, Black migrants had started to settle on the land that was to become Soweto several decades earlier (See Carr 1992 for a detailed account of the establishment of Soweto). In the first few decades of Johannesburg's history, there were only two large areas where Black people were allowed to own land around the city: the freehold townships of Alexandra (North-East) and of the Western Areas (Martindale, Newclare, Sophiatown). In addition, small freehold townships were scattered on the East Rand, i.e. the Eastern (then) countryside of Johannesburg. People who migrated to Johannesburg between the 1880s and the implementation of new rules by the Apartheid government in the early 1950s, were first men then families from rural areas, who came to the city looking for employment, especially in periods when agricultural incomes fell due to drought or insect invasions (see Van Onselen 1982). Employment was provided mainly by the mining industry, as well as other heavy industries that developed to support the mining industry.

The specific case of White City can be succinctly described, so the reader can have a precise idea of how urbanisation took place, and how White City's population came to be there. The township of Jabavu was created in 1946, to respond to the increase of informal settlements in the area. The Sofasonke Party had managed to establish a camp by moving with hundreds of families (Bonner & Segal 1998:20-24) to a settlement known as Shantytown or Masakeng, a name derived from the grain sacks used to build precarious tents. These names were first given to a settlement located in present Orlando West, but both were soon used to refer to another Sofasonke settlement, located in present Mofolo, on the eastern edge of White City. Another gigantic slum also developed in Moroka, on the southern edge of White City. By 1947, the Moroka Emergency Camp was regarded as the worst slum in South Africa, with 58 500 residents in 1955 (Bonner & Segal 1998:27). The Jabavu Camp was built as a response to the overflow of informal settlements.

It is only by 1955 that Jabavu was upgraded to a proper residential area. The formal construction of Jabavu came one year before the six million-Rand loan made by Ernest Oppenheimer and the mining industry to the Johannesburg City Council. Thus, initially Jabavu did not benefit from the standard matchbox houses supplied by the government (see Bonner & Segal

1998:29-31).

It is also in 1955 that the apartheid government enforced a division of African locations according to ethnicity. This was the consequence of the 1923 Urban Areas Act and the 1950 Group Areas Act, which organised geographic segregation in urban centres first as a colonial policy, then in the entire country. Ethnic zoning within townships and Black communities, was the expression of apartheid's divide and rule strategy.

On the ground that the 'same people' would naturally want to live together, three groups of townships were delimited in the administrative Soweto. According to Bonner & Segal (1998:43):

"the ruling meant that houses were allocated accordingly to ethnic groups, that traders could only purchase shops within their own ethnic area, and that children were forced to attend a school of their ethnic origin. Naledi, Mapetla, Tladi, Moletsane and Phiri were set aside for the Sotho- and Tswana- speaking people. Chiawelo was for the Tsonga- and Venda-speaking people and Dlamini, Senaoane, Zola, Zondi, Jabulani, Emdeni and White City were for the Zulu and Xhosa Nguni speakers. [...] One newspaper concluded that, 'the advantages of ethnic grouping are both psychological and factual and preserve for the Bantu that which we prize for ourselves in our own community: firm tradition, respect for natural leaders, preservation of mother tongue, and mutual loyalties'."

Residents remember that a military base was present in White City until after the housing programme was extended. They also remember that the Nguni-speaking men settling in Jabavu were quick to choose wives from other cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and that migrant families from other linguistic areas also settled in early times. I had the chance to interview in 2011 a seventy-four-year-old man (now deceased) who moved to White City with his parents at the age of twenty, in 1958. His family was of Tswana origin, but had been living for three decades in Thaba Nchu, in the Free State, i.e. in Southern Sotho-speaking territory. They migrated to Johannesburg for employment, and were given a house to rent in White City by the housing department. The trajectory of this family reflects the early settlement of White City, and the limited effect of ethnic zoning.

To sum up the context of White City from the 1950s, I propose to retain the following most significant traits:

- a. An urban mixed population, whose parents or grand-parents had migrated from the countryside.
- b. Formerly, a so-called policy of Influx Control, submitting any settlement of families in

town to the approval of the authorities.

- c. Multilingualism on the street, and in most households.
- d. A feeling of sameness and unity, due in part to the urban mixed situation, and in part to the oppressive discriminating policies of apartheid, directed at all Blacks ‘indiscriminately.’
- e. Nevertheless, a high crime and violence rate, reflecting the precariousness of life.
- f. A feeling of uniqueness as opposed to the rest of the country, where people would be stereotyped as: either not from Johannesburg, or even rural; or as not modern, not city-slick, not accustomed to the mixed ways of the city.

The context that led to the emergence of Soweto Zulu is one of migration, industrialisation, multi-ethnic and multilingual contact, as well as segregation, isolation and colonial domination. The presentation below of the origin of Iscamtho will highlight how these factors are relevant to understand both Iscamtho and the variety that supports its development.

2.2 Early Studies and the Origins of Iscamtho

Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho have been the object of several studies over the last forty years, but few of them were concerned with either naturalistic data or a participatory social study of practices – one should keep in mind the restrictions imposed on research by apartheid segregation, and by the violence that characterised South Africa from the 1970s to the late 1990s.

Schuring (1983; 1985) analysed Tsotsitaal as a mixed variety of Coloured Afrikaans, which is itself a variety clearly different from Standard Afrikaans. Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1997:326) give an account of his perspective on both Iscamtho and Tsotsitaal, noting that “Schuring (1983:133; 1985:175-177) refers to Tsotsitaal with Bantu languages as base languages. He specifically mentions Zulu, Southern Sotho, and Tswana, and in the latter study (1985) gives examples of and discusses a variety that he calls Pretoria Tsotsi-Sotho.”

Msimang (1987) also studied Iscamtho, particularly in Soweto, but from the perspective of “the impact of Zulu on Tsotsitaal,” hence positing a form of relexification of the original Afrikaans-based variety of Sophiatown under the influence of Zulu. In his view, Tsotsitaal is a multilingual variety born out of urban style, which has evolved into a separate language. Msimang (1987:86) considered the existence of tsotsitaals as a major linguistic development:

“One must admit that the development of Tsotsitaal is one of the most important sociolinguistic developments in southern Africa in the 20th century. In the space of less than

50 years a brand new language has been born. The result is that Tsotsitaal is used alongside English as a lingua franca in the urban areas.”

Ngwenya (1995) proposes a socio-linguistic description of Sowetan Iscamtho, and he also postulates a transfer of the original Afrikaans-based Tsotsitaal style into Zulu, writing that “Tsotsitaal has changed its base language from Afrikaans to Zulu” (Ngwenya 1995:99). Ngwenya also considers that Iscamtho owes its success to the revolt against Afrikaans in the mid-1970s.

Mfusi (1992:3) adopted a different perspective, considering Iscamtho as an independent development of Sowetan society. As quoted by Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1997:322), Mfusi

“seems to suggest that a variety that he calls “Soweto Zulu Slang” (i.e. Iscamtho) developed in Soweto, more just to have a distinctive means of communication than for any other reason. He (personal communication) maintains, however, that Iscamtho existed alongside Tsotsitaal before 1976.”

Another early landmark in the quest to understand where Iscamtho originates from is Ntshangase's PhD thesis (1993, see also 1995, 2002), which traces two different patterns of development for Iscamtho on the one hand, and Tsotsitaal on the other. According to Ntshangase, the latter developed in Sophiatown and the Western Areas of Johannesburg, among gangs who favoured Afrikaans as a vector of speech, and it was brought to Soweto through the forced removals of the mid-1950s; while the former was born out of Shalambombo, an argot developed in the slums of what was to become Soweto among Nguni-speaking criminals of rural origins, and it was transferred to the youth under the name Iscamtho between the 1940s and the 1960s. Thus, one should picture two parallel but separate varieties, not only using different base languages, but also using different slang terms, mostly from Afrikaans in Tsotsitaal, and from Zulu in Iscamtho.

However, this approach was questioned by Hurst (2008) in her PhD thesis. Hurst questions the view of Iscamtho and Tsotsitaal as two strictly separate varieties. But her argument is somehow contradicted by Mesthrie and Hurst (2010:5), when the authors state that they are “not entirely satisfied with the idea that Flaaitaal necessarily emerged from Shalambombo,” considering Flaaitaal as the Afrikaans-based urban variety, and Shalambombo as prison slang, non-specific in terms of base language. They prefer the hypothesis that Flaaitaal emerged from the context of mining cities, where black workers interacted with Afrikaans-speaking white and coloured workers. Hence, they

do acknowledge that both informal varieties must originally have emerged in different contexts, Shalambombo being originally a secret language. But Hurst's position is certainly appealing if one compares the development of argots and the development of gangs. Racial and linguistic mixing occurred in Johannesburg from the early times of development of the city, as was confirmed by historical studies by Van Onselen (1982) and Glaser (2000). And mixing was strong in the criminal world, especially if one considers that criminals had multiple geographic, ethnic, cultural and linguistic origins.

A further analysis of the different names given to tsotsitaals around South Africa will stress that these varieties are intimately bound to the place where they develop, as well as to the cultural preferences of the generations of speakers that use them. Hence Rüdwick (2005:306) remarks "that 'taal,' which was previously used in reference to the variety by scholars (Childs 1994; Slabbert 1994; Makhudu 1995, 2002), is not commonly employed by Umlazi isiZulu-speakers." Hence she refers to the Umlazi variety as isiTsotsi, as it is referred to by the locals. Makhudu (1995; 2002) studies the original Johannesburg Afrikaans-based variety, and he refers to it as Tsotsitaal or Flaaitaal. The Zulu-based variety studied by Rüdwick developed in the major urban centre of Durban, in KwaZulu-Natal, that is in the one South African region where Afrikaans is less significant, due to the historical dominance of English-speaking migrants in the Natal colony, and the relative isolation and small numbers of Afrikaans-speaking farming communities.

Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1997:326) also noted the naming differences, and that the name of a variety is tied to a particular urban experience. They write:

"To exemplify the confusion surrounding naming, consider the case of Iscamtho¹ and Iscamtho², "Iscamtho to the power one" and "Iscamtho to the power two." These are the names that residents in the township of Tembisa, between Johannesburg and Pretoria, apply to two varieties, according to Calteaux (1994). As she indicates, even though these versions are labelled Iscamtho, from a structural point of view they are versions of Tsotsitaal. She states that the main differences between Iscamtho¹ and Iscamtho² is that Iscamtho¹ is characterized by more English than Iscamtho² and is spoken by younger people, while Iscamtho² features more Afrikaans and its speakers are mainly older people. She concludes (1994:214), based on what is known about the history of Iscamtho² (its speakers came from Sophiatown and often use the variety to speak about old times), "that Iscamtho² is in fact none other than Afrikaans-based Tsotsitaal."

Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1997:331) retain a definition of either Iscamtho or Tsotsitaal on the basis of their base language, rather than their social use (see sub-section 4.2). Yet they also observe that the names relate to a practice, noting that the two different names given to the two different tsotsitaal varieties spoken in Tembisa, are also tied to the mainly Afrikaans influence in one, as opposed to a mainly English influence in the other.

The relation between the Afrikaans- and Bantu-based versions of tsotsitaals is still disputed. Even if there was an original separation in argots used by a small number of gangsters, the spread of Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho in the social practices of large portions of the Black population of Johannesburg, and especially within Soweto, must have led to early interactions between the two urban slangs. These interactions can be seen from the linguistic perspective (with a significant proportion of the Iscamtho lexicon originating in Tsotsitaal), from the social perspective (in the use of style in other domains than language) and from the perspective of sociolinguistic patterns (with a younger generation reproducing patterns for style and slang use developed by the previous generation, applying it only to different base languages).

Yet Afrikaans-based Tsotsitaal from Sophiatown – although it must have been present earlier, and although Sowetans could come in contact with it in town – became a major feature of Soweto’s linguistic landscape only after the forced mass removals implemented by the apartheid State from 1955. Also, there were specifically Nguni and Sotho gangs in Pimville, Orlando or Moroka (Nshangase 1993; Glaser 2000). Consequently, and despite such contact, exchanges and natural affinities, there must have been local peculiarities in the way first Shalambombo then Iscamtho developed in Soweto. But peculiarities do not mean single origin, and Iscamtho and Tsotsitaal share too many traits to be abruptly separated along genetic lines, especially since their speakers tend to be multilingual and to produce speech using several languages as base.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, they were born in similar criminal communities, they spread to non-criminal male youth following the same pattern, and they carried the same symbolic meanings, at the same time: the stigma of an improper, sometimes criminal, variety; and the positive aura of a stylish, iconic ‘language.’ Concerning the sociolinguistic aspect, they started with the same mechanism of secret lexicon. It is unclear how early language mix was part of the trend, or what varieties intervened in the mix. Later they both spread to the broader youth generation of their times. One can postulate that in Sophiatown, Tswana, Sotho or Zulu could be mixed with Afrikaans. In Soweto, Shalambombo was certainly developed as a secret language by speakers of Xhosa, Zulu, as

well as Sotho in early times.

The linguistic structure of Iscamtho and other tsotsitaals, but also the structure of the multilingual urban speech in the townships of Johannesburg in general, has been analysed mainly in terms of the MLF model (see Slabbert and Myers-Scotton 1997; Finlayson, Calteaux and Myers-Scotton 1998). From this perspective, the main difference between Iscamtho and Tsotsitaal is the base language, either Afrikaans or Bantu. The next sub-section on the structure of Iscamtho will shed light on this debate.

2.3 The Linguistic Structure of Iscamtho and of the Language Supporting it

After defining Iscamtho primarily as a lexicon, it may sound paradoxical to propose a presentation of ‘the structure’ of Iscamtho. However, what I mean to discuss here is the linguistic structure of speech that supports Iscamtho lexicon. On the one hand, it is about the clarification of the outcome of language contact in the locations where Iscamtho is spoken and has been analysed. On the other hand, it is about the identification of possible para-linguistic features that can help distinguishing Iscamtho as style.

But the works focusing on linguistic structure have focused on CS as the phenomenon characterising Iscamtho. In the 1990s, two publications tried to tackle the issue of the linguistic nature of Iscamtho, and another focused on the linguistic structure of mixed speech in a township of Johannesburg. Slabbert and Myers-Scotton’s (1997) article is entitled ‘The structure of Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho’, and its authors (Slabbert & Myers-Scotton 1997:338) aim to “cut through the proliferation of terms, and therefore the mystery, surrounding the nature of Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho,” noting that the structure of both conforms to CS patterns as defined by the MLF model.

Slabbert and Myers-Scotton further argue that, submitted to the universal rules claimed by the MLF model, the structure of the mixed speech supporting Iscamtho is ‘orderly’ structured. The authors (Slabbert & Myers-Scotton 1997:318) state that

“Although Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho both arose under “melting-pot” circumstances rivalling any in pidgin/creole formation, one distinct psycholinguistic difference leads to structural regularity in the case of Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho: enough speakers were sufficiently proficient in a common language to employ it as the frame-builder of the “new” variety. For

Tsotsitaal, this was Afrikaans, and for Iscamtho, this was Zulu (or another Southern Bantu language). Thus, while the structure of Tsotsitaal or Iscamtho may seem to be a mysterious “mishmash,” [our argument] is that such a visage is only an artifact of the diverse origins of the lexicon.”

In their view, mixed speech is the product of an act of mixing on the part of the speaker, as they consider (Slabbert & Myers-Scotton 1997:323) that “speakers cannot engage in code switching unless they are proficient in the languages involved [...]; they must be especially proficient in the language that provides the morphosyntactic frame for constituents (i.e. the base language, or matrix language in our terms). [...] Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho are best considered as code-switching patterns that have “fossilized” at least to the extent that, in either variety, the ML framing any mixed CPs can be predicted.)” I will argue that the mixed speech of the children, especially the younger ones, is produced without proficiency in some of the languages involved, at least not beyond the elements contained in the mixed speech.

Regarding the structure of mixed speech, Finlayson, Calteaux and Myers-Scotton (1998:404) analysed the speech of speakers from Tembisa, a major township on the North-Eastern side of Johannesburg. They conclude that “constituents consisting of material from more than one language have a single Matrix Language” and that “CS for [the] subjects consists of either Zulu and English, or one of the Sotho group languages and English, but not Zulu and Sotho and/or other African languages, or both Zulu and Sotho simultaneously with English.”

I will test these two statements from the data. Regarding the second point, I will test whether the mixed patterns found in White City involve more than two languages, and whether the mix of “Zulu and Sotho and/or other African languages, or both Zulu and Sotho simultaneously with English” is common.

In the same paper, Finlayson, Calteaux, Myers-Scotton (1998:411) ask the direct question of what mixed speech would be like if it did not follow the constraints hypothesis of the MLF model, and they propose two hypothetical cases: “if syntactically active system morphemes come from more than one language in a mixed constituent in the same CP (e.g. determiners from English in combination with pre-prefixes and noun-class prefixes from Zulu); if the morpheme order in a mixed constituent followed English or Afrikaans order while the system morphemes came from Zulu.” The data will help assess if such cases are possible or only speculative.

Although Slabbert and Myers-Scotton identified Iscamtho as a CS variety, they concede (1997:330) that these urban varieties are different from mere CS:

“Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho do differ from “classic” CS in two ways. First, they have content morphemes from either the ML or the EL that are used with meanings different from the ones they have in their variety of origin; that is, these morphemes occur with phonetic shapes identical or similar to those they have in their variety of origin, but they do not have the same lexical-conceptual structure. [...] Second, Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho also include a number of content morphemes (some are shared) whose origin is unknown or disputed.”

So Slabbert and Myers-Scotton, although considering Iscamtho as CS, recognise that its lexical dimension and semantic variation distinguish it from CS. An alternative analytical perspective, drawing on the theoretical debates in preceding sections of this literature review, is to consider three combined factors in the production of speech containing Iscamtho:

- Language mixing as the supporting variety.
- Style as the situational vector of Iscamtho.
- Slang lexicon as the core essence of Iscamtho.

Childs had followed the same path as Slabbert and Myers-Scotton, considering Iscamtho to be the mixed variety. Hence he could observe that “what has often been remarked is the extent to which Iscamtho borrows words from other languages” (Childs 1997:50). But considering that variation makes it difficult to propose a clear structure for Iscamtho, Childs prefers to focus on observable differences between Iscamtho and Zulu. Unfortunately, having no perspective on the difference between Zulu and Soweto Zulu, Childs makes contestable statements. For instance, he identifies (Childs 1997:354-355) a modification of the noun class system of Zulu, and states that:

“the normal noun class prefix for animate plurals (Class 2) is *aba-*, but in Isicamtho it is *abo-*. [...] Despite the noun having a different prefix, the agreement markers are unchanged. [...] The *bo-* prefix can be used before most nouns or other words controlling nominal concord in Isicamtho, no matter what the class membership in Zulu. [...] The sociosymbolic *bo-* clearly marks the speech as being Isicamtho, as well as a simplification of the nominal morphology of Zulu” .

In fact, *abo-* is a regular class-2b prefix in Zulu, though it is not the main class-2 prefix. It is normally used to mark a particular form of respect for the group of people which is being referred to. Hence it is natural for Zulu speakers to say, for instance, *abogogo* ‘the grandmothers’ rather than *abagogo*⁹, to mark respect. I understand that the association of Iscamtho terms with this prefix is rather the result of a mechanism of irony, with the respectful prefix being used on informal or derogative terms. What is certain is that it is not a new prefix.

Another point raised by Childs is about ideophones, a category of word very common in African languages, which consist of a particular sound turned into a word to evoke an often complex concept. Childs (1997:351-352) remarks that “another quantitative and perhaps qualitative difference from Zulu is the absence of ideophones in Isicamtho. [...] When ideophones are incorporated into Iscamtho, they change their word category [...] to verb, noun, and adjective.”

Regarding particular mixed patterns in the speech supporting Iscamtho, Childs (1997:356) observes that:

“Here *never* takes a subject marker, just as does the Zulu auxiliary. Other borrowings discussed thus far are purely content words not so deeply embedded in the grammar. The only other function words that are borrowed are free morphemes, such as conjunctions, which typically signal discourse organization (cf Myers-Scotton 1993). [...] All derivational morphemes investigated are identical.”

On the basis of his observation, Childs (1997:357) concludes that “clearly Isicamtho is a mixed or hybrid language. Although it is neither a relexified form of Tsotsitaal nor simply a Zulu slang, both of these claims have some relevance.” He goes on to observe that if Iscamtho is a mixed language that is differentiating strongly from Zulu, then “the ramification of Isicamtho’s differences from Zulu for language policy are immense, especially if it is true Isicamtho is expanding its domains [...]. Often Isicamtho is the primary language known to students (especially males), yet academic success depends on passing exams in ‘Standard Zulu’” (Childs 1997:358). I cannot support this statement when it comes to Iscamtho itself, but I argue for the fact that the mixed variety supporting Iscamtho is the primary language of White City residents, particularly the

⁹ This form does not exist in Zulu.

children.

Regarding the linguistic analysis of this mixed variety, Childs on the one hand and Slabbert and Myers-Scotton on the other, make a few points regarding linguistic patterns that will appear in the data. Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1997:335) note that Zulu affixes must be considered system morphemes in the MLF model, while “nouns, descriptive adjectives, topicalizing pronouns” are receivers of thematic role, and verbs are assigners of thematic role.

This view leads to consider all prefixes in the data as system morphemes. Hence the presence, for instance, of a prefix from another Bantu language in a Zulu phrase, will contradict the system morpheme principle. Also, Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1997:328) remark that

“Many speakers, however, define either Tsotsitaal or Iscamtho in lexical terms. When questioned, they state that the presence of certain words, usually from what we call the ELs but sometimes also words in the ML itself, is what marks a variety as Tsotsitaal or Iscamtho. The fieldworker from Soweto who transcribed the conversations for this study had this to say: “Iscamtho is not a language; it is a matter of words.” That is, speakers think of Tsotsitaal or Iscamtho as a set of lexical items, not as a “full” variety with its distinctive morphosyntax (as we characterize it as a variety showing code switching) or as a unitary variety that can be distinguished from other unitary varieties (e.g. varieties of English, Afrikaans, Zulu, etc.). Recognizing that many speakers use certain lexical items to define Tsotsitaal or Iscamtho helps to explain why these persons and even some linguists say that the two varieties are related.”

This statement strengthens the position taken by Mesthrie (2008) and Hurst and Mesthrie (2013), who argue for studies to focus on Iscamtho as lexicon and the mixed urban language separately. More recent work has dealt with structural issues in Soweto Iscamtho, particularly an unpublished Master’s thesis by Gunnink (2012). She assessed linguistic characteristics of Iscamtho as opposed to Soweto Zulu which stress that the mixed features identified as reflecting Iscamtho speech by Childs or Slabbert and Myers-Scotton, are actually regular features of the local mixed Zulu. Many structures will be presented in the next chapters that support her view. Also, Gunnink (2012) describes the phonological changes that affect Soweto Zulu as well as Iscamtho, such as influences from Sotho phonology over Zulu phonology. These include a negative prefix sometimes pronounced *ha-* rather than *a-* (Gunnink 2012:62).

Gunnink also identified a non-lexical feature of speech among a group of male teenagers, which

she considers to be part of Iscamtho: a tendency to violate class agreement rules by replacing class 5, 6, and 9 prefixes with class 10 in verbs, adjectives and demonstratives. This practice appears in the data, but it is not clear at this stage if it is related to Iscamtho. Nevertheless, it constitutes the first observed behaviours showing that Iscamtho style may be starting to be distinguished from the mixed urban variety that supports it by structural aspects.

2.4 The Social Status of Iscamtho

As noted in Chapter 1, some of the most significant works about Iscamtho or other tsotsitaals consider their object as a mixed male slang, a street language to be used by young males as an in-group code. Childs (1997:344) notes that although claims were made that “Isicamtho will unify or does unify speakers of mutually unintelligible languages [...] this conclusion does not accord with the facts, nor with logic, especially on a more extensive scale than the purely local.”

Doubtlessly, Iscamtho does not guarantee communication across languages. That is, only some level of multilingualism allows communication across language groups. However the speakers of Iscamtho speak urban, mixed varieties, and in the case of White City, I mean to demonstrate that multilingual patterns do not require the knowledge of external languages.

As noted in Chapter 1 (page 8), Childs also reckons that Iscamtho is extending to new domains. Yet his position suffers from the fact that he does not distinguish Iscamtho from the mixed variety. When he states (Childs 1997:347) that, “rather than Isicamtho, Urban Zulu may be the variety that allows for interethnic communication among urban speakers,” he is right, but he does not realise that the urban Zulu he is referring to is a mixed variety with substantial structural differences from Zulu, in which code alternation patterns are not the product of active mixing.

The perspective promoted by Childs has led other researchers, such as Mufwene (2001:189), to draw contestable conclusions when it comes to the social and sociolinguistic significance of Iscamtho:

“By the same token, even the additive development of mixed language varieties such as Isicamtho, intended to distinguish its speakers from the other speakers of Nguni (Childs 1997), constitutes no threat to the Nguni languages. Although their speakers are the more indigenous Africans, such new varieties are not communalist either. As an Indubil-like variety based on mixing Nguni and Afrikaans and spoken almost exclusively by some male urban Black workers, Isicamtho’s ethnographic function is non-integrative in relation to the Nguni and larger Black South African population. Isicamtho is spoken non-natively and as a

secret lingua franca. What deprives it of its potential to affect negatively the vitality of other languages is that it does not share communicative functions with them. Only languages that overlap in communicative functions with others can be said to be in competition and therefore to have the potential to endanger them.”

Like Childs, Mufwene fails to distinguish the slang or style, which might in some cases be secret, from its supporting variety, the mixed lingua franca. My attempt to demonstrate that White City’s mixed variety is a native language could, if successful, lead Mufwene to reconsider the risk for Zulu.

More relevance can be seen from another statement by Childs (1997:346), which reflects on the relationship between Soweto Zulu and Iscamtho: “Urban speakers of Zulu create new variants or choose a non-standard one to mark a separate identity. [...] Isicamtho and Tsotsitaal perform identical functions for their speakers: they both serve “unifying” and “separatist” functions [...]” This statement should be compared to a more recent one by Rüdwick (2005:307) who writes that

“Informal varieties of this kind all over South Africa’s linguistic landscape have at least one thing in common: they do not only represent a linguistic means to identify with a particular group of people or a particular urban area, regarding particular characteristics (i.e. social, economic, age) but, more importantly, in the context of this study, they are varieties that transcend the boundaries of one particular group and are highly context-dependent.”

Rüdwick focuses on the position of the informal variety spoken in Umlazi in relation to Zulu. She notes that the local Zulu, even in this urban centre of KwaZulu-Natal, i.e. the heart of Zululand, is very distinct from Standard Zulu. Yet it is not mixed as in White City.

Regarding the mixed variety that supports Iscamtho, an interesting statement is made by Finlayson, Calteaux and Myers-Scotton (1998:396), who see CS in it rather than a mixed variety. They state that

“In a social context where relevant factors do not dictate a specific single language, speakers choose to engage in CS. The speaker who switches often between two languages is indicating a desire to associate himself/herself with the identities indexed by the languages involved (Myers-Scotton 1993b). Choices in CS give us the sense that South African

township speakers have strong loyalty to their mother-tongues first. As a second choice, they recognize the positive values which are associated with the use of English.”

In addition to the assumption of linguistic choices at the structural level, there is also a problem in this statement with the idea of “loyalty to their mother-tongues:” in White City, some people do not know what their mother-tongues are. As such, what variety are they likely to be most loyal to? I argue that this would be the mixed variety. In this context, Dube (1992) proposes the concept of father-tongue, which derives from the fact that, when asked what their language is, Black South African people tend to answer with the language of the cultural and ethnic origins of their father. This answer may not be related to their actual practices, but reflects cultural belonging and heritage.

In 1992, in an unpublished MA thesis from Vista University¹⁰, Dube pointed out the deep penetration of mixed speech in private and social life in Soweto. Her study consisted of 105 interviews around a series of metalinguistic issues, conducted in Soweto with groups of school students, adult individuals, members of civic associations, churches and unions, and other representatives of the Sowetan society.

- To the question “which of the languages spoken do you prefer/like?” 10% of people answered what the author termed ‘Sowetan mixture’¹¹ (Dube 1992:36).
- To the question “Why do you prefer it?” the answers of the respondents who favoured the ‘Sowetan mixture’ are summed up as: “it is indescribable, it has no limits. It also serves as a unifying factor” (Dube 1992:36).
- To the question “what is your home language?” the author writes that 80% “speak of a mixture of languages like English, Sesotho, isiZulu, Flytaal, etc.” (Dube 1992:37).
- To the question “why do you prefer your home language to your father tongue?” some of the answers given are:
 - “The mixture will allow me to communicate with children who speak a different language other than my father tongue” (Dube 1992:38).
 - “I do not necessarily prefer my home language, I have accepted the situation of the mixture” (Dube 1992:38).
 - “Would prefer isiZulu at school because I have problems because of the mixture we speak” (Dube 1992:39).

¹⁰ The former nation-wide Black university, with several campuses in townships around the country. The campus of Soweto has now been integrated in the University of Johannesburg.

¹¹ It is not clear if the author coined the term to cover the denominations used by the respondents, or if she introduced the term to the respondents.

- “Cannot speak Setswana which is my father tongue. Therefore prefer the mixture” (Dube 1992:39).

Later in the study, Dube discusses a series of questions about multilingualism or monolingualism, and why it could be good to implement one or the other. A response to the question of which language should serve as the national language of a monolingual state, a respondent answered: “A new language should be developed. Cross-racial interaction is the one mechanism that can be used. It will develop naturally. Soweto is an example.” (Dube 1992:44) Dube’s work supports the claim that White City children learn a mixed variety as a native language.

In a different perspective, Finlayson, Calteaux, and Myers-Scotton (1998:399) offer a strong statement regarding the language situation in the family context (which they have not investigated):

“The number of linguistically mixed marriages in Tembisa is high and such unions almost always result in the use of CS between partners who ‘start out to learn each other’s language and end up mixing this with their own home language’ (Calteaux 1994:120). If we extrapolate from the findings reported here, it is likely each partner employs his/her first language as the Matrix Language of any mixed constituents produced in the home environment, but this issue has not been investigated systematically.”

One can wonder why parents who use CS to talk to each other would use a distinct version of ‘their’ language to address their children. The data presented in the next chapters, particularly Chapter 6, will contradict this extrapolation: clear evidence will be given that parents may turn to the mixed Zulu lingua franca to address their child, even when Zulu is not their first language. Even though the language is mixed, it may not contain material from the cultural languages of the parents.

Rüdwick (2005:306) proposes to analyse the tsotsitaal phenomenon in terms of diglossia (Ferguson 1959; Fishman 1967), which is a situation where two languages or dialects of the same language co-exist, with different prestige and symbolic statuses, one being seen as low variety, the other as high variety. In that situation, they will not be used in the same settings. Rüdwick sees Standard Zulu as high variety, and the local tsotsitaal as low. However, it is not clear if there is an intermediate version of Urban Zulu in between, or if the term ‘isiTsotsi’ covers all urban levels of speech. In the case of White City, more languages would be at play, especially English, and the high status of standard varieties would hold only in formal contexts such as ceremonies, or at school. In other settings, standard languages would have low prestige. Hence the fact is that the concept of

diglossia does not seem particularly relevant.

Regarding the spread of tsotsi varieties in the public space, Rüdwick (2005:310) remarks that Iscamtho has penetrated the fields of: Kwaito music (the most popular style among Black youth in the last 20 years); television, through fiction programmes such as *Yiso-yiso* (a popular series from the early 2000s, picturing township life); or newspapers (the Daily Sun in particular). One could add to the list the Oscar-winning film *Tsotsi* (Gavin Hood 2005), which featured a less known variety of tsotsitaal from the North West Province, as well as Sowetan versions; the telecommunication company *Heita*, launched in 2010; or the bus network built in Johannesburg for the 2010 football World Cup, called *Rea Vaya*, from the Sotho Iscamtho phrase *re a vaya* ‘we are going.’ Also, a youth programme on the first channel of the South African Broadcasting Corporation, SABC1, is called *Vaya Mzansi*, which can translate as ‘Go South Africa’ or ‘Come on South Africa.’ Both terms are from Iscamtho, *umzansi* being originally Nguni for ‘South.’ A very recent programme on the same channel, to inform adults about employment opportunities, is entitled *ISpani*, a form of the Iscamtho word *span*, meaning ‘job.’

All these examples stress that tsotsitaals, or at least salient ‘chunks’ of slang and colloquialism, have become attractive even to corporates, which confirms that their symbolic meaning is a positive meaning of integration rather than group separation. Rüdwick (2005:310) also observes that the spread of isiTsotsi is such that

“Various teachers, males in particular, who participated in this study indicated that they frequently codeswitch to isiTsotsi in the classroom, firstly in order to create solidarity between themselves and the learners, and secondly to improve comprehension levels. A distinct social power dynamic feeds into this situation.”

I have heard such claims in White City, but from former students rather than teachers. An interview with four primary school teachers, however, confirmed that they face problems with their students using the local mixed variety in the classroom, but not Iscamtho, which the students do not seem to naturally use in this context. Hence, is Rüdwick really writing about Iscamtho or isiTsotsi, or do schoolteachers actually speak the mainstream urban language to their students? Both perspectives might be true, and my observations may need to be restricted to the one school I approached.

Finally, Rüdwick (2005:312) also reflects on the place of the tsotsi variety at home and in the family context:

“one cannot determine exactly the degree to which isiTsotsi is used in combination with a spoken isiZulu variety in Umlazi homes, but the fact that most parents are familiar with a large part of the isiTsotsi lexicon indicates that the variety must be employed as a communication source of some kind. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, standard isiZulu is indeed a variety that needs to be acquired by most Umlazi children, as it is not the variety spoken commonly in the township.”

The fact that children need to learn the school language is also true in White City, but what is the part of Iscamtho in this situation, and what is the part of language contact and language mix? The data chapters will help answer this question.

Finally, the statement below was made regarding the speakers’ motivations to use Iscamtho or the mixed variety. Finlayson, Calteaux, Myers-Scotton (1998:401) note that

“Tembisa residents interviewed by Calteaux (1994) were almost unanimous in their feelings about both the practical and psychological value of mixing. On the practical side, they emphasized the need for communication. On the psychological side, they said that residents should not try to take advantage of one another by imposing one language. In addition, mixing is seen as leading to a sense of camaraderie and unity among residents.”

Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1997:320-321) confirm this perspective, when they state that “for those Africans who speak either Tsotsitaal or Iscamtho, the social message is something to this effect: ‘If you can understand me and respond in a like way, then you and I are members of the same group.’” There remains the question of what part Iscamtho plays, as slang register or style, in this feeling of identity, and what is the role played by language contact and language mix. The data analysis will surely help clarifying this point.

Conclusion:

In Chapter 3, I presented the relevant theories to contextualise Iscamtho and urban speech within a particular urban setting, and to take into account social and psychological factors in language variation. I have also reflected on the nature and the social position of both mixed speech and Iscamtho, and raised issues to be examined during data analysis. Different possibilities have

been presented regarding the use of Iscamtho and mixed speech by children, at home, or by parents. The data will help assert which of these possibilities are confirmed in White City. It is now necessary to present the methodology used to collect and analyse the data on which this thesis relies.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter describes the methodology used at each step of the data analysis presented in Chapters 5 to 7. Several stages can be distinguished in the process of producing this analysis, for which specific strategies were necessary to ensure the expected scientific accuracy and reliability. Although my field exploration approach was subject to a number of external factors out of my control, I have tried, for the specific issue of data acquisition, to ensure the highest possible level of reliability. Although not all categories of children are represented in the same proportions in the data, which affects the impact of the data analysis, the material analysed in this thesis is as natural, authentic and reflective of everyday practices, as I could get.

In Section 1, I present the methodology adopted for field exploration and participant observation. In Section 2, I describe the methodology used for data acquisition, namely recording the children's speech, with a special focus on the characteristics of the interactions recorded. In Section 3, I reflect on the strategy used for data transcription, and the logistic constraints which had to be dealt with. In Section 4, I detail the methodology used for data analysis at each of the four levels presented in the subsequent chapters. Finally, in Section 5, I describe the main research participants, and the setting of each recording used in the analysis.

1. Field Exploration Methodology

My MPhil work questioned the position of Iscamtho within the local native variety, following testimonies from speakers identifying their 'native' language as Iscamtho. This constituted a strong claim about the status of Iscamtho. Therefore it seemed natural for me to continue exploring the Iscamtho phenomenon in the same field I had already worked in. While in 2007 I focused on metalinguistic perceptions in a multilingual context, this thesis is concerned with linguistic facts through natural data. It seems that the language of children is most relevant in measuring the position of Iscamtho in the local native variety. Previously, I worked only with young adults, whose perceptions were not observed proof of the status of Iscamtho.

The fieldwork for this thesis was formally started in June 2011, after a semester spent at the University of Cape Town. From October 2010 to February 2011, I was already back in White City, mainly to increase my fieldwork, and to develop my social networks for the purpose of the research

to come. I resided in a backyard shack on the property of the man who had been my main assistant in 2007, and who later proved to be invaluable in the analysis of the children's data (see Section 3).

From July 2011 to June 2012, I resided in two different places in Orlando West (another part of Soweto) but most of my days were spent in White City. I stayed in the same shack in White City from June to August 2012, until I was able to rent a house, also in White City, just 300 meters away from the street where most children were recorded. I left White City in March 2013, to return to Cape Town and UCT.

An immediate advantage was that I already had a good knowledge of the place as well as many contacts among the residents. This was especially important in regard to the fact that recording one's children can be an intrusive act. A certain degree of familiarity between the researcher and the families of the children helped to create trust, to obtain their authorisation to record. I chose to locate my fieldwork within the same methodological framework I used in 2007, which is largely based on anthropological fieldwork strategies, and which includes continuous participant observation for long periods of time. The main benefit of participant observation is to give the researcher a 'feel' for local behaviours and ideologies. This is necessary for the accurate interpretation of a large corpus of sociolinguistic data. Also, being involved in the field as a local resident had a positive influence on the perceptions of the residents I was not acquainted with, and some agreed to let me record their child even though they hardly knew me.

Out of the seven children that carried the recorder, six lived in the same street. This was a strategic choice to ensure that the speech analysis would reflect shared practices of the studied social space. The seventh participant was chosen for his availability, when trying to carry out a longitudinal study. This boy was the object of eight recordings spanning one year, for more than thirty hours of recording. He often walks from and to kindergarten with two siblings from the street who were also recorded, hence his linguistic practice not being noticeably different from the children of the main street under study.

A large part of my time in White City was spent on the streets of the neighbourhood where I wanted to record children. This neighbourhood was chosen mainly because I had numerous contacts among the local young adults. In most cases, the children recorded were either the children of my friends, or their relatives, or at least residents in their yards. Otherwise, they were close neighbours. It was necessary for me to obtain people's acceptance of my work, not only to obtain their agreement, but also so that the behaviours of the child and other people would not be altered by the

presence of the recorder. As a matter of principle, I do not pay to acquire data. In some cases, one needs to provide thorough explanations before people agree to freely share their private life. Several times (as becomes evident in the recordings and transcriptions) people questioned the purpose of my work, and wondered why there was no money to gain from their participation. I am indebted to friends who showed their support and vouched for me to convince their neighbours.

Being present everyday also provided many social opportunities to discuss my work with locals. This way, I managed to create a certain understanding of my work among the residents of the street that was central to the fieldwork. Thus, whenever a child carried the recorder, people interacting with the child and seeing the recorder would either have previous knowledge of my work and its purpose, or could gain this knowledge from people directly available in the street who would then be in a position to explain the situation.

2. Data Acquisition Methodology

Prior to any recording, I obtained a written authorisation from the parents, or sometimes the main caregiver and relative at the place where the child stays (not necessarily the same place as the parents). I would first discuss the project with the child's caregiver(s), sometimes in the presence of a friend who acted as an intermediary. I explained the purpose of the research as looking into children's language, to understand how much of it comes from what sources. I always mentioned that I was interested in knowing how much Iscamtho or Tsotsitaal the children knew, but I did not present this point as the central focus of my work.

Beyond ethical issues, I was also concerned with the fact that I should not influence the content of the recordings by revealing too much of what I was most interested in. In two cases however, parents made it clear to the children that I was looking for 'isiTsotsi,' and this resulted in more demonstration of their skills from the part of the children. Examples of such demonstrations are given in Chapter 6.

Following my discussion with the parents, I would return the following days with a Memorandum of Understanding to be signed by the parent, or the caregiver responsible for the child. The document is reproduced in Appendix 1. A recording date was then set. All recordings took place during the long summer school holidays, which in South Africa run from early December to mid-January. This is tied to the following considerations:

- Iscamtho is more likely to be used in informal contexts, and summer holidays are the most informal time of the year for the children: they do not go to school; they spend most of the day playing for weeks on end; and they spend long periods of time every day among children, away from the supervision of adults.

- Families are more available for the procedure: 'December time' is known in Soweto to be a festive period, and the general attitude in White City is to be 'stress free.' In other words, the intrusive aspect of the recording procedure is less of a burden, and parents are keener to agree to it during holidays.

Regarding the recording methodology *per se*, modern technology was put to efficient use. I used a pocket audio recorder which is compact and light, but which can record for more than twenty-four consecutive hours if necessary. The recorder was placed in the child's pocket and was connected to a lapel microphone placed on the child's shirt. Thus, the recording was of good quality. Furthermore, people who interacted with the child while not being aware of the recording would see the microphone. This way, they were free to investigate the situation, and to leave if they did not want to be recorded.

The main purpose of the recordings was of course to gather strictly natural data, in which the influence of the researcher was to be kept to a minimum. My good relationships with some of the adults having authority on the children, ensured that the recorder was not destroyed or stolen. As for the microphone, because it was of lesser quality, its low price allowed taking the risk that it could be damaged. When pinning the microphone onto the child, I ensured that h/she understood what it was for (at least in the general line that it would allow me to know how they speak). Then I would simply send the child away to play. In most cases, I left the street once the child was carrying the recorder, to return only several hours later.

Parents were also shown how to disable the recorder, and I made it clear that if the child did not want to carry it any more, or if any situation happened that either the child or the parents did not want to be recorded, they were perfectly allowed to switch the recorder off, or to store it away in a closed cupboard. Most of the recordings ended when the child asked for the recorder to be removed, and some ended when I came to collect the recorder. In any case, no recording lasted less than two hours, and the longest one (which unfortunately could not be used in the analysis, see logistic contingencies in Section 3) lasted fourteen hours.

The children accepted the microphone with curiosity. In most cases, they regarded it as a cell phone (which it resembles). The younger children played with it in an investigative manner. The

older ones showed two types of reactions: either immediate enjoyment and performance; or scepticism, which was always overcome after fifteen or thirty minutes of discussion with their friends. In one case, the recorder was even thought to be a video recorder for television.

I also made sure every time to explain to both the parent and the child, that any damage to the recorder or the microphone would be my responsibility, and that they would not be accountable. I judged this necessary to ensure that the children did not feel under pressure, and did not change their behaviours for fear of damaging the equipment. Also, it ensured that parents did not feel the need to watch after the children more closely than usual. Once I collected the recorder, I would transfer the recorded files into my computer so that the process of transcribing the recordings could start.

3. Data Transcription Methodology

The first constraint influencing the choice of a transcription method, was that I did not have sufficient knowledge of Zulu (and even less of other varieties spoken in White City) to transcribe the recordings: I could not identify all sounds in Zulu, I could not understand Zulu, nor could I spell it. My knowledge of Zulu fortunately increased greatly in the course of the data analysis.

Consequently, I had to rely on an assistant to transcribe the recording. The first phase of the process was my responsibility. It consisted in listening to the whole recording to edit it: I would cut out parts that did not contain speech – young children can spend long periods of time without saying anything intelligible – and would select the parts to be transcribed. For example, in the case of the youngest children, two hours of recording could amount to only twenty minutes of edited recording containing speech. The selection was done without any prejudice to the content of any specific part, since I was unable to identify parts containing Iscamtho. When the recording was rather short or had a low density of speech, I made sure to have every usable part transcribed.

However, when the recording was long and contained much speech – typically recordings of older children – I selected the parts to be transcribed according to: the length of the interaction; the density of speech; the length of speech turns; the clarity of sound; and the diversity of participants. This means for instance that if I selected thirty minutes of interactions in a group of children in the street, I made sure to select the five minutes of interaction available between the child and the parents inside the house, or short exchanges at the shop, in order to collect speech in different situations, and to increase the representativeness of the data.

Once a recording was edited, I gave the selected parts to my assistant. In a first phase, I decided to work with an acquaintance of mine in Orlando West, in order to further guarantee the anonymity of the transcription process. He is a young man who grew up six kilometres away from White City within Soweto, and speaks fluent Tswana, Southern Sotho and Zulu, as well as good English. He is also familiar with Iscamtho. He had a computer available, and seemed to be the ideal assistant. However, two problems quickly emerged. First, this assistant had difficulty spelling Zulu properly, since he had never been schooled in Zulu. This was a major problem, considering that about 88% of the whole transcribed data is in Zulu. Secondly, it appeared clearly after two transcriptions that, often, the assistant simply did not understand the children, and although he was fluent in the same languages as theirs, he was not familiar with certain typical forms these languages take in White City.

These two problems resulted in considerable delays in the completion of the transcriptions. I then decided to change strategy, and I resolved to work with an assistant from White City, who would have a natural understanding of the local varieties, and whose writing skills would be good enough in all the languages, starting with Zulu. To ensure that the confidentiality of the data would not be breached, I turned to the man who had been my assistant during my MPhil research, and who was my most trusted friend in White City. I also had this new assistant sign a Memorandum of Understanding to pledge confidentiality. However, a problem lay in the fact that this new assistant knew personally most of the families whose children I recorded, and as such I had to make sure that no issue would arise in terms of respecting people's privacy. To limit the risk, I introduced the assistant's name to the parents, and made it clear that he was bound to confidentiality. I also insisted on the fact that I was keeping recordings and transcriptions private, and that I was not interested in interactions that did not involve the child. Fortunately, none of the chosen excerpts to be transcribed contained any conversation of a private nature that the families could not have had in a public or semi-public setting.

The new assistant's linguistic skills were very satisfactory – he is fluent in eight languages! As long as recorded utterances were clear enough in quality, he faced only one problem when trying to understand the meaning of an utterance produced by a teenage boy which is not part of the statistical analysis, but which is analysed in Chapter 7. Considering also that he regularly interacts with all the youngest children recorded, he did not have problems understanding their speech.

However, the new assistant did not have a computer available to type the transcriptions. Instead, he had to write the transcriptions by hand in common school exercise notebooks. He indicated

language mix and the use of Iscamtho items with a marker, or by underlining the item with his pen. Excerpts of the handwritten transcripts are provided in Appendix 2.

Once the assistant had completed a piece of transcription, I collected it, and typed it up. In the process, errors and questions were identified. I then spent time with the assistant examining problematic points, and we solved them together. These mostly concerned the meaning, spelling (of Zulu and English only at that stage), or the origin of the term. The assistant only faced major difficulties with his spelling of the Sotho languages. Although he went to a Northern-Sotho-speaking school during his childhood, he would tend to spell Sotho mainly according to Zulu rules. But he would also sometimes retain certain Sotho rules in Zulu, such as the alternation between the letters *o* and *u* to represent the sound [u], which in Zulu is only transcribed as *u*. That is why, later in the process of data analysis, I had to turn to Derek Gowlett, formerly from the Linguistics Department at UCT, who kindly examined and corrected all the Sotho data, and a significant part of the Zulu data.

The whole transcription process was complicated, and it created long delays. Logistic aspects were the main limit on the quantity of data that could be analysed, and on the number of children that I could record. They also explain why seven out of eight recordings of the seventh participant could not be transcribed and analysed. The transcribed data was selected from a total of more than twenty-seven hours of recording, and, in total, 2 340 turns of speech were analysed, including 1 960 turns produced by children up to the age of nine. Had it been easier to produce reliable transcriptions, these numbers would have been higher. Unfortunately, because of the logistics of the transcription process, I was not able to make use of all my recordings. As a result, boys and girls from five to six years old are under-represented in the data, and information about their use of language mix and Iscamtho is not as strongly substantiated as with younger and older children.

4. Data Analysis Methodology

As mentioned in Chapter 1, there are several levels to the analysis offered in this thesis. The first is a general sociolinguistic and linguistic description of the data from children, including a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the multilingual aspect of their speech, to describe the mixed variety supporting Iscamtho. The second is a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the Iscamtho lexicon used by the children. The third is an analysis of some extracts of conversations, to underline the sociolinguistic pragmatics of Iscamtho and multilingual speech. Finally, the fourth level is an

analysis at the structural level of relevant pieces of language from children and adults, from the perspective of language contact studies.

The two first stages of the analysis were completed through the use of a Qualitative Data Analysis software, ATLAS.ti®, which led to the thorough description and count of linguistic and sociolinguistic characteristics of all 2 340 turns of speech, through a system of codes applied to each turn.

The General Analysis

Regarding the general analysis, the codes retained were grouped into eight Code Families. These were meant to address the following eight fundamental questions to describe each turn of speech:

1. Who speaks?
2. To Whom?
3. What language(s) is (are) used?
4. What kind of language mix is observable?
5. What register is used?
6. Where is the interaction taking place?
7. Under what supervision (in the case of children)?
8. What is the topic?

Based on these questions, eight Code Families were named for convenience as presented in the eight paragraphs below. I present the codes with an explanation of how they were applied.

Language

Language: Afrikaans
Language: Bantu Other
Language: English
Language: Sotho
Language: Undetermined
Language: Zulu

Whenever a code identifies a language, it is applied according to the syntactic structure of the sentence. So, if there is an alternation in the language supporting speech, two codes were applied to the same turn (see paragraph on Language Mix below). The varieties referred to are local ones in the case of Zulu and Sotho, and they might be non-standard or even represent a learner's attempt in the

case of English or Afrikaans.

An important clarification needs to be given regarding the code 'Language: Sotho.' The name 'Sotho' in Soweto is normally used to refer to a form of koinè which draws on characteristics of the three Sotho languages: Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho and Tswana. As a variety, it seems to present much variation from one part of Soweto to another. However, it is not the object of this thesis to investigate the characteristics of White City Sotho. As such, all forms emanating from a Sotho language, no matter which one, were labelled 'Sotho,' in accordance with the local practice. However, specialists of the Sotho language family may observe specificities from any of the three varieties.

The code 'Language: Bantu Other' was used when the structure of a sentence was that of a Bantu language that was neither Zulu nor Sotho. Only two instances were recorded from the children: one in Xhosa, and one in Venda. Both instances involved language mix.

The code 'Language: Undetermined' was applied to turns of speech that do not constitute full phrases, or where speech is not meaningful.

Chapter 5 provides an analysis of the turns of speech in languages other than the two dominant, Zulu and Sotho. But their number is small, and it was not significant enough to justify a separate statistical analysis. Instead, qualitative analysis of speech in Afrikaans, English, and other Bantu languages is offered. It will also include linguistic analysis at the structure level.

Location

Location: Backroom

Location: House

Location: Shop

Location: Street

Location: Yard

Very few turns of speech were difficult to classify here, as ambient noise and speech itself made it quite easy to determine where the interaction occurred. The only problems occurred when the children were in the yard but close to the street. The code 'Location: Other' was used at first, but it was not required for any turn of speech.

Language Mix

Mix: Insert Afrikaans

Mix: Insert Bantu Other

Mix: Insert English

Mix: Insert Prison Slang Lexicon

Mix: Insert Sotho
Mix: Insert Iscamtho
Mix: Insert Zulu
Mix: Alternation Intersentential
Mix: Alternation Intrasentential

The above codes were applied whenever a sentence element was from a different origin to the grammar supporting the main part of the sentence. However the codes were applied to the whole turn of speech. All ‘Mix: Insert’ codes refer to lexical insertion of either a foreign or slang element. They do not distinguish between borrowings that are adapted to the phonology or morphology of the base language, from those that are not. A particular problem can emerge with the analysis of borrowed words: some have kept their original form, but are an integral part of the local language, possibly with a strong semantic change. In this instance, was I to count the word as local Zulu, or as belonging to the language of origin? In order not to prejudge the status of these words, and to enhance the clarity of the analysis, I chose to count all borrowings under their label of origin. I was able to identify these borrowings, which have become an integral part of local varieties, from those that are only occasionally used.

The code ‘Mix: Insert Prison Slang Lexicon’ was used only in transcript 2, when boys on the street role-played gangsters and used a few words from South African prison slang. This code was not included in the statistical count of Iscamtho use, in order to avoid distorting the statistical analysis.

The code ‘Mix: Insert Iscamtho’ was used whenever a word was identified by my assistant as being part of Iscamtho slang. However the sociolinguistic value of a few terms originating in Iscamtho has changed, so that they cannot be considered to be part of present Iscamtho slang in White City. In Chapter 5, I describe thoroughly these items from Iscamtho with a changing status. Those that are clearly not considered to be Iscamtho in the field, were not taken into account in the statistical analysis of Iscamtho as used by the children.

Finally, the codes ‘Mix: Alternation Intersentential’ and ‘Mix: Alternation Intrasentential’ were used whenever a turn of speech counted two languages, to distinguish intersentential code alternations from intrasentential code alternations. Since my main focus is on structure rather than the symbolic meaning of speech, I decided to classify all multilingual items according to their origin only. However, the case of the sociolinguistic status of these items will be discussed in the qualitative analysis in Chapters 5 to 7. Regarding the statistical analysis, the next Code Family for registers made it possible to distinguish deeply rooted Iscamtho terms from other Iscamtho terms, by the register they represent.

Register

Register: Iscamtho Slang
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Register: Undetermined
Register: Vulgar

The register codes were not difficult to apply, but regarding the code ‘Register: Iscamtho Slang’, comparisons had to be made between the use of words originating in Iscamtho that are now proper register – i.e. the register acceptable in any situation with anyone, including when showing respect is expected – and words that are still elements of slang. The knowledge of my assistant, and of several of the adults surrounding the recorded children, was necessary. Moreover, the tone of speech in the recordings – i.e. whether light-hearted, jocular or threatening among others – was a useful indicator, as were the participants involved.

The code ‘Register: Undetermined’ was used only as a temporary step in the analysis, to mark unsure cases. It was used in the statistical analysis only for turns where the language could not be determined.

The code ‘Register: Vulgar’ was used to describe cases of coarse language, including insults or rude sexual references. It was applied to Zulu, Sotho or English pieces of language, but not to Iscamtho terms. The analysis shows a different pattern of use between slang and vulgar speech (see Chapter 6).

I included at first the code ‘Register: Standard variety,’ but no instance of speech marked as standard was observed.

Supervision

Supervision: Adult
Supervision: Elderly
Supervision: Female
Supervision: Male
Supervision: None
Supervision: Older Child
Supervision: Teenager

Codes for supervision were only applied to the speech of the children. Note that codes can be combined when calculating statistics, in order to produce queries such as “Supervision by an Elderly Female” or “Supervision by a Male Teenager”.

The code ‘Supervision: Older Child’ was used only when the older child was clearly in charge

of the younger one, at the request of the parents, or when the older child showed clear authority in watching over younger ones. When the children were only playing, and the older children did not adopt the position of caregivers towards younger ones, the code ‘Supervision: None’ was preferred. Furthermore, this code was applied to all situations where peers were not in the presence of an adult.

Topic

Topic: Crime Related
Topic: Firecrackers
Topic: Money
Topic: Parenting
Topic: Recorder
Topic: Role playing
Topic: School
Topic: Sport
Topic: Taxi
Topic: Technology
Topic: Trade

The ‘Topic’ codes are the only codes that were not applied systematically, considering the great diversity of topics in the recordings. Instead, I used them to point out to the most prominent topics that have proved to have an impact on language. Thus, the use of multilingual features can be shown to be motivated by certain topics more than others (see Chapter 5).

The code ‘Topic: Crime Related’ was used in instances of role playing about gangsters, especially when the children used prison slang words. The code ‘Topic: Firecrackers’ is relevant due to the fact that the recordings were made during the festive season, and six out of seven recordings feature discussions about firecrackers.

The other topics are indicated to stress trends in the use of language mix or slang lexicon insertion, and the code may sometimes have been applied to a turn of speech in a discussion, and not to the turn that preceded or followed it. The reason for this is that these other turns did not contain a particular language feature that may be tied to the topic. Hence the statistical analysis not reflecting proportions regarding these codes and their link to linguistic patterns, only absolute numbers.

Who?

Speaker: Adult
Speaker: Age Under 5
Speaker: Age 5-6
Speaker: Age 7-9

Speaker: Elderly
Speaker: Female
Speaker: Male
Speaker: Older Teenager
Speaker: Young Teenager

The ‘Speaker’ codes are used to describe the speaker of a turn of speech. Again, the codes can be combined to produce queries such as “Elderly Male Relative” or “Young Female Teenager.” The distinction between ‘Adult’ and ‘Elderly’ takes into account age, but it relies on my knowledge of the local people. As people on the recordings were identifiable, my assistant and I were able to know whether we were dealing with middle-aged or elderly people.

The codes ‘Speaker: Father,’ ‘Speaker: Mother,’ ‘Speaker: Grand-Father’ and ‘Speaker: Grand Mother’ were used at first in addition to other codes describing adults, elderly people, males or females. They were not used in the statistical analysis, but they are useful for the contextualisation of some interesting linguistic structures.

Age categories were determined from two observations. First, street peer groups were roughly in conformity with the division made between children under five, children from five to six, and children from seven to nine. Secondly, the three groups correspond also to the learning of languages at school: before five, children don't go to school, and only know local urban languages; at five and six, children are in grades R and 1 respectively, where they learn to read and write, and get familiarised with the standard form of one Bantu language; from seven, children learn English, which becomes a medium of instruction for a few subjects in the last two years of primary school, before being the sole medium of instructions at secondary school. The division into three categories matches the children's experience and abilities with the local linguistic diversity.

Whom To?

To: Adult
To: Child Same Age
To: Elderly
To: Female
To: Late Teenager
To: Male
To: Older Child
To: Older Teenager
To: Speaking Alone
To: Young Teenager
To: Younger Child

The above codes are employed to describe the recipient of a turn of speech. In peer group conversations, only one of the recipients has been counted, normally the one who replies to the turn of speech.

The codes ‘To: Father,’ ‘To: Mother,’ ‘To: Grand Mother,’ ‘To: Grand Father’ and ‘To: Relative’ were used at first as contextualisation elements for the linguistic analysis. They were not used in the statistical analysis, especially because there was no particular pattern that appeared to stress different behaviours when addressing the adults of a child’s family, as compared to other adults. This can be explained by the fact that, accordingly with local African cultures, children are raised to display the same respect with any adults as they do with their parents. They also respect any adult’s authority, no matter if the adult has parental authority over them or not.

Note also that the codes ‘To: Older Child’ and ‘To: Younger Child’ mark the age of the recipient as compared to the speaker. In other words, they should be read for instance as ‘the child addresses a child older than him.’ On the contrary, the codes ‘Young Teenager’ and ‘Older Teenager’ do not mark a comparison, but qualify the age of the recipient as being in his early or late teens respectively.

Overview of Data Coding

The distribution of codes by transcript is set as follows:

Transcript 1: 948 turns of speech – 7 616 codes.

Transcript 2: 199 turns of speech – 1 645 codes.

Transcript 3: 329 turns of speech – 3 025 codes.

Transcript 4: 57 turns of speech – 559 codes.

Transcript 5: 330 turns of speech – 3 027 codes.

Transcript 6: 249 turns of speech – 2 261 codes.

Transcript 7: 228 turns of speech – 1 825 codes.

Below is a count of the analysed turns of speech of children, according to age and gender categories. This should help the reader measure the representativeness of the sample analysed:

Female under five: 226 analysed turns of speech.

Male under five: 135 analysed turns of speech.

Female aged five-to-six: 7 analysed turns of speech.

Male aged five-to-six: 88 analysed turns of speech.

Female aged seven-to-ten: 440 analysed turns of speech.

Male aged seven-to-ten: 1 064 analysed turns of speech.

In total, 1 960 turns of speech were analysed from children. At this stage, it is necessary to clarify the number of turns by groups of children. Indeed, the children recorded were not only those who carried the recorder. All the children with whom they interacted were counted. While it might be possible to count accurately the number of turns attributable to children from one group or another, it is impossible to know exactly how many children feature on the recording. My evaluation is that numbers vary between 35 and 40 children: 4 to 5 females under five; 2 males under five; 1 female from five to six; 3 males from five to six; 10 to 12 females from seven to nine; 12 to 15 males from seven to nine.

Beyond the number of children per category, strong differences in the number of turns analysed per category are explained by the fact that, in recordings of older children, participants performed a lot for the recorder and were not shy to speak in its presence, making the recordings dense with speech. In addition, there were often groups of five or more children interacting.

On the other hand, in the case of younger children, a typical group of children was a pair. Furthermore, while as a rule young children speak less, these showed signs of shyness: the first third of their recordings often contained very little material. Finally, the low numbers regarding the five-to-six age group were purely circumstantial. I organised a recording with only one child in this group, due to the fact that two attempts to record girls from this age category failed: in the first attempt, the girl was unexpectedly sent away on holiday, and in the second, the parents did not respond to my request. Furthermore, as it happened, fewer children of that category in group play were present during the recordings. However, according to my observations, the five-to-six age category was also the least represented among the children living in that street. The little data collected for this category, made it necessary during the data analysis to make deductions and projections about the five-to-six category, as opposed to working with solid evidence with the categories of younger and older children.

Appendix 5 provides a thorough description of the coding, with details for each code and transcript. The following chapter will describe the result of the general analysis. Results were obtained by counting code co-occurrences. The software used was able to establish tables showing how a specific code co-occurs with other codes. Thus, I was able to identify usage patterns for multilingual speech and Iscamtho, which is discussed in Chapter 5 and 6. Even though codes were applied with great care, minor errors may have occurred. In addition, the number of analysed turns

did not allow me to draw definite conclusions about widespread linguistic practices. Rather, the count was valid only for gathered and analysed data, and though it constitutes a strong indication of local practices, categorical conclusions should be formulated with caution.

The Qualitative Analysis of Iscamtho and Multilingual Speech

For the specific analysis of both multilingual and Iscamtho material, a separate qualitative analysis was carried out through ATLAS.ti®. Iscamtho lexicon and multilingual lexicon were coded in separate projects concerned with: Afrikaans inserts, English inserts and Iscamtho inserts. The analysis was concerned with the linguistic nature of the inserted lexicon.

The codes used for each qualitative analysis are detailed in the following paragraphs. The numbers provided concern the entire data, i.e. 2 340 turns of speech. The analysis distinguished terms used by children from those used only by adults. The results of the qualitative analysis are presented in Chapter 5 to 7; separate analysis projects were not added to the appendix, since only qualitative aspects, not statistical comparison, were looked at.

4.1 Afrikaans Insert Analysis and English Insert Analysis

Afrikaans Insert Analysis: 77 turns of speech analysed.

English Insert Analysis: 630 turns of speech analysed

The codes used were as follows:

Adjective	
Adverb	
Age	
Category Change: Adj. to Adv.	(i.e. adjective to adverb)
Category Change: Adj. to Noun	(i.e. adjective to noun)
Category Change: Adj. to Verb	(i.e. adjective to verb)
Category Change: Adv. to Adj.	(i.e. adverb to adjective)
Category Change: Adv. to Noun	(i.e. adverb to noun)
Category Change: Noun to Adj.	(i.e. noun to adjective)
Colour	
Conjunction	
Date	
Determinant	
Discourse Marker	
Full Phrase Non-Standard	
Full Phrase Standard	
Include Iscamtho	
Include other Insert	

Noun
 Number
 Predicative
 Pronoun
 Time
 Verb

All codes describing a grammatical word category refer to the function of the word in the speech, rather than its form in Afrikaans or English. The codes marking a ‘Category Change’ were used to signal a shift in the grammatical category of the word between the source language and the base language. The codes ‘Include Iscamtho’ and ‘Include other Insert’ were used to signal that the borrowed lexical item was used in a sentence containing an Iscamtho item, or another multilingual item. Some inserts bear several codes, as for instance nouns which may refer to currency, or predicative adjectives to colour.

The codes ‘Age,’ ‘Colour,’ ‘Number,’ and ‘Time’ are used to stress the content of certain borrowings, as clear patterns emerged linking these four domains with the use of English terms (see Chapters 5 and 7).

4.2 Iscamtho Insert Analysis

Iscamtho Insert Analysis: 167 turns of speech analysed.

The codes used for the analysis are as follows:

Address Term
 Adjective
 Adverb
 Category Change: Adj. to Adv. (i.e. adjective to adverb)
 Category Change: Adv. to Adverbial suf. (i.e. adverb to adverbial suffix)
 Currency Term
 Derogative
 Determinant
 Include Other Insert
 Iscamtho Affix
 Multilingual Sentence
 Name / Nickname
 Noun
 Predicative
 Pronoun
 Verb

The codes ‘Category Change: Adj. to Adv.,’ ‘Category Change: Adv. to Adverbial part.’ and

‘Iscamtho Affix,’ were not used in the counts, but are used to help the linguistic analysis provided in Chapters 6 and 7. Other codes used in the Afrikaans and English Insert analysis but not in the Iscamtho analysis, are simply codes that were not required in the latter. Several codes may be applied to the same Iscamtho item.

To conclude on the analysis methodology, it is necessary to stress that of the codes describing languages, addressees, supervision or topics in particular, several may have been applied to one particular turn of speech. For instance, if one code alternation was counted, two languages were counted too. As a result, tables presented in the next chapters may feature totals for each point analysed that do not match the total of 1 960 turns analysed for children. As such, this does not reflect a mistake in the coding. Finally, it is necessary in closing this methodology chapter, to offer a rapid description of the research participants and the recordings gathered from them.

5. Subjects and Recordings: Description and Comments

The following paragraphs present the seven children who carried the recorder, and contextualise the setting of each recording.

Transcript 1: Male, seven years old.

This recording was the second one I carried out, but the first one concerned with children, at the beginning of the summer holidays in December 2011. The participant carrying the recorder is a seven-year-old boy, who is the younger brother of a friend. He speaks Zulu at home, as well as a bit of Ndebele thanks to his mother (there is no father in the household). He also speaks fluent Sotho, and he speaks better English than most children in White City, as his older brother lives with an English-speaking woman in Pretoria. The boy often spends weekends at his brother’s place, where he practises English. This boy attends a Zulu-speaking school.

The recording features mainly the boy and his group of friends, all of them boys aged from seven to eight, residing around the same street corner. They know one another well and are used to playing together. Up to six boys are gathered together at times on the recording.

The recording took place during the afternoon, and mostly while the boys were playing in the street. The recording features interactions at the shop, as well as long sessions of role playing which takes place mainly inside my car, which was parked outside the house of the boy who was carrying the recorder. The boys imagine that the car is a minibus-taxi, and they alternately take the driver's

seat, while the other friends play the role of passengers. In the last part of the recording, the boys are playing football, and one of them gets seriously injured.

This recording constitutes the main source regarding the linguistic behaviour of boys who have already been schooled for several years. Even though the main language in the recording is Zulu, not all the boys come from Zulu-speaking families.

Transcript 2: Male, five years old.

This recording was also carried out during the summer holidays in 2011, between Christmas and New Year's Eve. The recorder was carried by a five-year-old boy, whose family speaks (Northern) Sotho and Zulu, the latter being dominant. This boy attends a Tswana-speaking school.

In the recording, the boy plays in the street, mainly with a seven-year-old boy, and a young teenager who is approximately twelve years old. The recording features mainly this group of three boys of different ages. During the recording, the father of the boy carrying the recorder said to the children that I wanted them to speak *seTsotsi*, Sotho for 'Tsotsitaal.' Following this statement, the boys began to role-play, acting like gangsters. In doing this, they demonstrated their knowledge of actual gangster language, and repeatedly used a number of words from prison slang.

Later in the recording, the young teenager left, and the two boys were joined by a few boys and girls aged from six to nine. After playing together for a while, they decide to go to the swimming-pool. The recording ended when they finally left the house to go there. This recording gives a good perspective on boys' use of slang in games, and interactions between boys and girls from the age of five to about eight or nine.

Transcript 3: Female, four years old.

This recording was carried out on the 30th of December 2011, during the school holidays. The recording features a four-year-old girl who is carrying the recorder, as well as her two-year-old sister and another little girl who is a cousin (about four to five years old). In addition, the whole recording takes place under the supervision of the parents of the girl carrying the recorder. The two sisters do not yet go to school, but they attend a Zulu-speaking kindergarten.

The setting is mainly the parents' shop, which is in a container placed just outside the yard. There is no formal spatial separation between the shop, the street and the yard. In each of these places, the children can be seen and heard by either the mother, who remains in the shop, or the father, who moves in and out of the shop as he is busy painting a new shack next to the container, in

the yard.

As the girls are very young and are still learning to speak, and because they are under supervision, there is no improper speech from them – that is speech that could lead to reprobation, or that does not match parental expectations as to how the child should speak – but they do use a number of stylistic features such as Iscamtho nicknames. This is because the father uses these nicknames to address his children.

Transcript 4: Female, four years old.

This recording was carried out on the 31st of December 2012, during the summer holidays. The recording features a four-year-old girl, the little sister of the boy recorded in Transcript 2 (see above), who had been recorded one year before. The girl goes to a Tswana-speaking kindergarten, while her family speaks (Northern) Sotho and Zulu. Due to a technical problem with the recorder, the transcription is very short: a misconnection with the microphone caused a lot of noise, and resulted in most of the recording being unclear.

During the recording, the little girl was playing with her brother, and with other children, both in yards and in the street. The recording also features interactions with her father and mother in the house.

Transcript 5: Female, nine years old.

This recording was carried out during the last days of December 2012, i.e. in the middle of the summer holidays. It features a nine-year-old girl carrying the recorder. She speaks (Northern) Sotho and Zulu at home, and attends a Southern Sotho-speaking school. For most of the recording, she is playing outside with her friends, girls aged from seven to nine. Her mother had stated the fact that I wanted her to speak isiTsotsi, and so for the first part of the recording, the girls performed a lot of Iscamtho, always in a very demonstrative and caricaturing manner. Later on they forgot about the instructions given by the mother, and their conversations became much more natural. They played, but also went to buy food at a shop down the road, run by Ethiopian men.

During the second part of the recording, the girl carrying the recorder had an argument in the house with her father and a female adult friend of the family. The argument concerned a cell phone that the father wished to sell, while the girl wanted him to give it to her. In the last part of the recording, the girl was playing in the street again with another girl of the same age, and a boy slightly younger (around seven years old).

During the first part of the recording when the girl played with other girls of the same age, there were often too many girls speaking at the same time for all the turns to be transcribed. Because of that, it was decided that my assistant would focus on the speech of the girl carrying the recorder.

Transcript 6: Female, seven years old.

This recording was carried out at the beginning of the summer holidays in 2012. The recorder was carried by a seven-year-old girl who speaks (Southern) Sotho and Zulu at home, and who has been raised exclusively by women (her grandmother, mother and aunt). She attends a Southern Sotho-speaking school. The recording features mainly the girl and her two girlfriends of the same age, as well as the girl's caregivers.

There are moments where the girls play in the yard or just outside the yard, under the supervision of an adult, and moments when they are inside the backroom, with no adult supervising, while one of the girls is taking a bath – that is, she washes herself in a bucket with a cloth.

This recording is notable among the others, as it hardly features any improper language. It is not clear what instructions the grandmother (who was supervising when I brought the recorder) gave the girl, but the presence of the recorder and the supervision of adults both explain why there is less slang, style or mix in this recording than in any other.

Another factor is the fact that the girl carrying the recorder lives in a yard where no man has lived for several years (since the grandfather passed away). Hence the girl is raised by her grandmother, mother and aunt. These adult women seem to make sure to teach the girl the use of 'proper' language.

Transcript 7: Male, three years old.

This recording was carried out during the first weekend of January 2012, while the boy carrying the recorder was not yet three years old (he turned three a few weeks later). He was then already speaking Sotho (the family is Tswana) and Zulu. Both languages are used at home, but the father and grandfather address the child only in Sotho/Tswana. There are no women living in the yard.

It is only after the recording that the boy started going to a Tswana-speaking kindergarten, and at the time of the recording, he had just been allowed to go out in the street by himself. His socialisation was still mainly dependent on his interactions with his fifteen-year-old brother. The yard where the boy lives is shared with another yard, where a ten-year-old boy – visiting his father for the holidays – was playing (in the yard and in the backroom), with some younger neighbours

who came to play with him. They played a video game console in particular. The older boys and the younger one interacted about the game, and squabbled also.

Conclusion:

I have detailed in this chapter the methodology used for data acquisition and data analysis. I have underlined the limitations to the quantity of data that could be analysed, due to logistical issues. In the next chapter, I will detail the results of the analysis produced through the methodology described above.

Chapter 5: General Analysis of White City Children's Speech

In this chapter, I present the results of the general analysis of White City children's speech. The purpose of the analysis is to thoroughly describe the linguistic environment, the norms and behaviours which make up the children's linguistic experience. Describing the general linguistic practices of the children enables me also to distinguish multilingual speech and the local mixed variety that supports Iscamtho, from Iscamtho itself. Several questions drove the general analysis of the children's speech:

- What languages do the children speak?
- How much and what kind of language mix do they use?
- Who do they address in multilingual speech, where and on what topics?
- Are there identifiable patterns regarding setting, topic or interlocutors in the use of multilingual material by the children?

In this chapter, I am interested in languages (understood as language structures or syntaxes), their appearance in speech, the social context in which they are used, and how they interact with one another in the children's speech. The chapter is organised in three sections.

In Section 1, I detail the statistical analysis for the general use of languages by the children. In a first sub-section, I focus on the main variety used by them, namely Zulu. Examples of speech are given with a view to understanding certain specificities of the local lingua franca. A second sub-section details the relevant instances of the minor languages in the children's speech, by detailing aspects in the use of English, Afrikaans and the other Bantu Languages (e.g. neither Zulu nor Sotho) in the speech of the children. In Section 2, I analyse the general patterns of language alternation produced by the children, with special focus on the sociolinguistic context. In Section 3, I provide the results of the statistical analysis on borrowings and their context, to reflect on the effect of multilingualism over local Zulu and Sotho. In Sections 1 and 2, I propose a qualitative analysis of the context in which different aspects of speech occur, while in Section 3 I give a qualitative overview of the nature of language mix.

1. Languages in the Children's speech: Diversity and Multiple Acquisition

To begin with the general analysis, I describe in Table 5.1 below the different languages used in

turns of speech by the children, according to their age-gender groups. The total number of 2 020 turns displayed in this table is higher than the total number of 1 960 turns analysed for children, as many count two distinct languages. Some of these are the object of a detailed analysis later in this chapter as well as in Chapter 7.

Table 5.1: Distribution of Turns of Speech by White City Children, by Language Used

	Under 5 Female	Under 5 Male	5 to 6 Female	5 to 6 Male	7 to 9 Female	7 to 9 Male	TOTAL
Afrikaans	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
Bantu Other	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
English	4	6	0	0	21	38	69
Sotho	0	42	0	5	32	23	102
Undetermined	19	3	0	3	9	29	63
Zulu	207	98	7	82	397	990	1781
TOTAL	230	149	7	90	462	1082	2020

Table 5.1 illustrates the fact that multilingual abilities can be acquired at a very young age. It shows that even children under five years old produce speech in Zulu, Sotho or even English – almost from the earliest stage of language use, since several recorded children were under three years old.

Secondly, multilingual abilities increase with age. Hence the fact that the children between seven and nine years old produced close to six times more turns containing English than the children under five years old. This does not come as a surprise, considering issues of socialisation or schooling for instance, which increase the children's competence in, access to and practice of English. Although no instance of English use was recorded among children in the five-to-six category, I can testify that children of this age use English like any other children. A larger set of data for this category would provide evidence of this.

Because of the low number of participants, I cannot make large-scale conclusions, but the data analysis can serve as the basis for some projections. When it comes to multiple language acquisition, not all children are exposed to the same languages in the same proportions. As such, there seem to be clear differences in the multilingual abilities of younger children. One must consider the limited number of settings and people involved in the socialisation of these young children, and that their multilingual abilities may be limited at first. They will increase with age, as children expand their social range.

Table 5.1 also shows that languages are not all equally used in the children's speech. Thus, across all age-gender groups, Zulu is by far the most commonly used language (1 781 utterances, or 88.2% of the total). Sotho and English are also significant, but the two counted together hardly make up 10% of the utterances in Zulu (69 for English, 102 for Sotho). Contextual differences during the recordings also show up in the table for the two youngest age groups between boys and girls, where the latter were not recorded using Sotho. The figures, however, could have been different with different participants from different families, or in different places. The balance between Zulu and Sotho in the table generally fits what can be observed in the neighbourhood where the children live. In a different area of Jabavu, such as the Sotho-speaking section of Western Central Jabavu, the balance would have been different for most categories, particularly between Zulu and Sotho.

Afrikaans is very infrequent as the base language of speech, and so are the other Bantu languages. Hence, the dominance of Zulu in the local public space is confirmed. Sotho and English seem to be the only other varieties with a meaningful sociolinguistic position in the local space.

The children in the five-to-six age group were not recorded using English. This must be attributed to the smaller amount of data recorded for this category. This point can be confirmed by looking at the under-five age group, in which all boys and girls use English. Examples will be given below of the use of English in each category, to illustrate the children's actual proficiency.

1.1 The Case of Local Zulu

The local Zulu variety needs to be described generally, as it is the main base for multilingual speech and Iscamtho, as used by the children. It is clearly a non-standard urban variety. Many features of Soweto Zulu identified by Gunnink (2012) can be seen in the data. The first is the use of non-standard and simplified versions of clicks (see Gunnink 2012:15). Many examples in the data show changes from Standard Zulu. Aspirated clicks are most often realised as non-aspirated. This is especially true, as noted by Gunnink, of the palatal and dental aspirated clicks. But other changes are found, for instance from nasalised clicks to non-nasalised ones. Here are examples of such non-standard clicks:

Example 5.1:

Ngi-yo-cam-a futhi ngi-yo-dlal-a '-zwipi
 1s-FUT-URINATE-VF CONJ 1s-FUT-PLAY-VF C?-SPIN

I'm going to pee, and I am going to play spin

In this example, the dental aspirated click in the Standard Zulu verb *-chama* ‘urinate’ was replaced with a non-aspirated dental click in *-cama*. In addition, another interesting feature is observable with the use of the noun *(i)zwipi*. The noun is derived from Afrikaans *sweep* ‘whip, lash’ or ‘spin’ (from the fact that old style spins feature a string to be pulled, for the toy to spin faster) but its class prefix *i-* (either from class 5 or 9, it is unclear which) has been elided. This might be under the influence of Sotho, in which class-9 nouns bear a zero prefix (see Chapter 7 for other similar examples). However, the noun may also be influenced by the Zulu ideophone *zwibi*, used to describe concepts “of flinging, hurling, sending flying” (Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi 1990:902), which would not bear a class prefix.

Example 5.2:

U-Sello yena aka-col-i ka-so wena kanjani?
 C1-NAME 3S.ABS NEG.3S-GET DIRTY-NEG.FV ADV-THIS WAY 2S.ABS HOW
Sello doesn't get dirty like this, you how (dirty are you)?

In this example, the nasalised dental click from the Standard Zulu verb *-ngcola* ‘get dirty’ was replaced by a dental click in *-cola*. This same verb also appears as *-ncola* in the data, confirming variation. In addition, the sentence features the use of a borrowing of the English adverb *so*, which is combined with an adverbial prefix. The diverse meanings of this borrowing are analysed in Chapter 7.

Other features distinguishing Soweto Zulu from Standard Zulu were identified by Gunnink. These include a set of demonstratives largely reduced to three forms *la*, *le*, *lo* (see Gunnink 2012:25-28), although counterexamples feature in the data; and the use of the copulative prefix *yi-* regardless of noun class, while classes 1 and 2 normally demand the use of the copulative prefix *ngu-* (see Gunnink 2012:31-35). For instance, the sentence ‘he is a boy’ translates in Standard Zulu as *u-ngu-mfana*. In White City, it may translate as *u-yi-mfana*. Yet the most common way is another Zulu standard form, which was altered: in Zulu, the copulative may be marked by an aspiration on the noun prefix, often transcribed as *h-* or *hh-*, rather than a copulative prefix. It is characterised also by the use of tone, directed to the lower position on the class prefix. But in White City, the aspiration has disappeared, and only the low tone remained. Hence speakers would say ‘you are a boy’ as *umfana* with a low tone on *u-*, and a middle tone on *-fa*¹².

¹² This zero copulative prefix is not indicated by *h-* in the data, except in few cases where aspiration was audible. A translation as ‘it is...’ or ‘you are...’ or ‘he is...’ for instance, distinguishes the neutral noun prefix from the copulative

The use of *ngu-* has not completely disappeared, as *ngu-* appears in a contracted form with first person singular: the form *ngingu-* is contracted into *ng'u-*. This would produce, for instance, *ng'umfana* 'I am a boy' rather than Standard Zulu *ngingumfana*. Also, *ngu-* is used in the phrase *-ngubani*, used with a subject prefix to ask the question 'who is...?' as for instance in *ungubani lomuntu* 'who is this person?.'

An important phonetic aspect of local Zulu can also be observed in the noun prefixes for classes 8 and 10. In its standard form, the prefix *izi-* is pronounced with the consonant. In Soweto, the consonant is most often not pronounced. The form *ii-* is most common in Nguni dialect variation (Derek Gowlett, personal communications), and even in most rural Zulu dialects. In Standard Xhosa, this prefix spells *ii-*. The prefix is spelt as *ii-* in the data when pronounced as such, to reflect speech as faithfully as possible.

Also, local urban Zulu never features the Standard Zulu interrogative adverb *na*, which is, according to published Zulu grammars (see Nyembezi 1957; Doke 1931), placed in the final position of a sentence to mark the interrogative form. However, Derek Gowlett stressed in personal communications that it is not used either in rural Zulu dialects. Therefore, one can assume that, if used at all, it is rather limited to poetic or sacred registers. Instead, the interrogative form in local Zulu is only signalled by a rising intonation towards the end of the sentence. Interestingly, the discourse marker *ne*, borrowed originally from Afrikaans and adopted in all languages around South Africa, is often used at the end of a declarative sentence, separated from it by a short pause and pronounced with a rising tone, to mark the interrogative form. Hypothetically, this might constitute a remnant of the use of *na* among original migrants to White City.

Diverse non-standard forms occur in the speech of the children (see the next chapters). It is often difficult to determine whether these are stable forms (although they may remain minority forms) in the local variety, or if they occur due to a phenomenon of language acquisition in the specific case of the child who speaks. In other words, is a term a core or nonce borrowing? This reflects the variability that can be observed with every language in White City. However, certain non-standard features can be identified as part of the local variety, as they are the forms favoured by adults and children alike. These are analysed in Chapter 7.

The non-standard features analysed in Chapter 7 also include issues of locatives and hetero-concordance in class marking – i.e. the inadequate class categorisation of the dependents of a

noun in a class other than that of the head noun. Both points are described by Gunnink (2012) as parts of the Iscamtho style, although I propose that some of the features are used in the local mixed variety for purposes other than marking speech as Iscamtho.

1.2 The Other Languages in the Local Linguistic Setting

Regarding the use of less important languages, two different trends appear. Afrikaans and the other Bantu languages are scarcely observed (respectively three and two utterances each in the children's speech). Sotho occurs fairly frequently, but its use varies greatly among the children. Finally, English is also significant: although its use increases with age, it is notably present among younger and older children.

The use of Afrikaans

The three examples of Afrikaans come from two different girls, one aged seven, the other nine, in two different recordings. These examples are as follows:

Example 5.3:

Ngi-ye-z-a, *wat gaan aan*, mfethu?
 1s-PRES.DISJUNC-COME-VF *WHAT GOES ON* FRIEND
I'm coming, what's going on, mate?

This example features a full Afrikaans phrase inserted in a Zulu utterance. The phrase appears to be an invariant Afrikaans phrase used in White City. It is learned by the children as a stylistic feature, and its use does not imply any further knowledge of Afrikaans. Chapter 6 offers a full analysis of the interaction in which example 5.3 occurred. It demonstrates its stylistic dimension.

In this example, the noun *mfethu* should be explained. It is originally a contraction of the compound *mfowethu*, made of *umfo* 'brother,' class 1, and *wethu* 'our' made of a class 1 prefix *w-* and of the 1st person plural possessive pronoun *-ethu*. In urban Zulu, surely all around Johannesburg (and I believe also in the urban centres of KwaZulu-Natal in the form *mfwethu*), the word *mfethu* is a term of address used originally among male peers, which is also used as a discourse marker. It translates as 'friend, mate, buddy' but it has come to be used in situations where it should not literally apply, such as between girlfriends, or between a couple. The use of the word is similar to the contemporary use of the English *guys*. It is so common, and always in the same contracted form,

that the six-year-old son of my then landlord in Orlando West, once produced the sentence *ang'umfethu wemu* 'I am not your mate.' He was responding to his father and mother who addressed him as *mfethu*. The boy did not conceptualise that the *-ethu* part of the word stands for a possessive pronoun, and conceiving of the word as a straightforward noun, he added another possessive to it. But he did not mean to say 'I am not your brother,' which is what would have been expressed by the use of the proper Zulu compound *-mfowemu*. The chosen form makes logical sense, though it is, from a historical perspective, syntactically aberrant.

Example 5.4:

Yo pasop!
EXCL. BEWARE
Wow watch out!

In this example, the short Afrikaans phrase constitutes the whole turn of speech. Again, it illustrates the shallow knowledge of Afrikaans that the children really have. *Pasop* can be learnt as a simple word, with no further knowledge of the language. This word is also used in certain informal varieties of South African English, particularly in English/Afrikaans bilingual communities. Also, this example is interesting because the seven-year-old girl in question was addressing her friend while in the presence of her mother.

Example 5.5:

Heyi wena. *Dankie*. Ngi-yo-bhek-a la.
EXCL. 2S.ABS THANKS 1S-FUT -SEE -FV HERE
Hey you. Thanks. I am going to see here.

In this example, the utterance in Afrikaans is made of a single word, *dankie* 'thanks' or 'thank you.' Again, it is obvious that this case does not imply any real knowledge of Afrikaans as a separate language. Also, this word is common in English speech in South Africa, when addressing Afrikaans-speaking people. It would have been counted as an insertion, had it not been separated from the rest of the utterance by pauses.

The three examples above reveal that the children do not have any extended command of Afrikaans, and that the phrases used are learnt as part of the local variety. This is why they are less common than English sentences, as no Afrikaans as an independent variety is present in White City's public space. They are emblematic phrases that stress style or coolness. They are also terms which may appear in a diversity of languages across South Africa, in urban and rural settings. These examples all occurred between children, and one occurred under adult supervision. Afrikaans as a separate variety reflects neither a language actually spoken by the children, nor a sign of improper

speech. Chapter 6 will stress how the use of Afrikaans can be part of stylistic performances.

The Case of Other Bantu Languages

Several examples of sentences in Xhosa came from a mother, Xhosa in origins, who was addressing her children, seamlessly mixing Xhosa and Zulu. However, among the children, only two full sentences could be counted in a Bantu language other than Zulu or Sotho. These two examples were not in the same language. Although other Bantu languages are present as family languages in the studied street, particularly Tsonga, no further instance of a Bantu language outside of Zulu and Sotho was recorded.

Example 5.6:

Ke madekwane abhudzi
1s GOOD EVENING HELLO
I'm great / very good

Analysis of this sentence is a challenge. It is originally from Venda, and in the proper form it should appear as: *Ndi madekwana, avhudi*. The phrase *ndi madekwana* is normally a greeting, used to say 'good evening,' and *avhudi* is the expected response to someone who greeted you first. However, in White City, it is a purely stylistic feature, the meaning being unrelated to the original Venda sentence. It is used to boast about one's talent, success or luck.

Beyond the innovative form of the sentence and its brand new meaning, this example also includes language mix. The first person singular subject marker *ke* is not from Venda, but from Sotho. There exists in Sotho a phrase *ke matekwane* 'it is cannabis,' that may have caused interference. Moreover, the use of the Venda *avhudi* may show influence from the Sotho *abuti* 'older brother.' The boy who uttered the sentence does not speak Venda, and Sotho is not his main language. The utterance is an attempt to use a stylistic feature common in White City, which is why all words are different from the original Venda form.

Example 5.7:

Zi-hlal-a zi-hluthi
C8-STAY-VF C8-SATED
They stay full up

I counted this example as Xhosa, since all morphemes can be identified as such. However, another way to read it is to see it as Zulu, with only the adjective *hluthi* being borrowed from Xhosa.

The reader should keep in mind that Zulu and Xhosa are closely related. The sentence occurred during playtime among boys aged from seven to nine. It is not clear why Xhosa was used, and it is likely to be due to the child's background. But this child was not a primary research participant, and he appeared in the recording as part of the peer group. His background remains unknown.

To conclude on the other Bantu languages, it is clear that the two above examples are not indicative of a strong position of these languages in the sociolinguistic landscape of White City. There is only one Xhosa-speaking family living in the street, and the boy who used Xhosa is not part of this family (but probably lives in the next street). No family speaks Venda. And although three families in the street speak Tsonga, no Tsonga was recorded. As a result, I conclude that Zulu, Sotho and English are really the dominant languages in White City, and that they are the only ones occupying a significant sociolinguistic position.

The Case of English

In total, 69 utterances of English sentences, or full phrases in longer sentences, were counted among the children. They are of different types, reflecting different levels of command: sometimes one single word forming a full phrase, sometimes full standard sentences, sometimes non-standard sentences that can be analysed as learner's speech. Several examples are provided here, to encompass the whole range of English utterances. Examples 5.8 to 5.11 below reflect the use of short utterances.

Example 5.8:

Hey police!

This example comes was taken from a time of role playing between boys aged seven to nine. It counts as an English sentence, although the reader will understand that it does not reflect a thorough use of English, but an exclamation rather. The noun *police* is close to its Zulu equivalent *-phoyisa*, itself an earlier borrowing from English. *Police* features on police cars and uniforms in White City.

Example 5.9:

Ko ko, Grand-Pa and Eno!
Knock knock, Grand-Pa and Eno!

This example comes from the same boys as those of the example above, and refers to a situation

when one is buying medicine at the shop. Structurally, the second phrase is English, using two brand names, and one English conjunction. Chapter 7 demonstrates that the conjunction *and* is a common borrowing in White City. Its use does not imply an extended knowledge of English. The example begins with the use of the Sotho onomatopoeia *ko ko*. This is a very normal and polite way in White City and elsewhere, for a visitor to call someone while remaining at the door. Although it is used by all speakers in White City, it originates in Sotho cultures, while its Nguni equivalent (rare in White City) would be *ngqo ngqo*.

Example 5.10:

Wo-z-o-thath-a. *What's up?* Y-i-swidi.
 STAB-COME-FV+2S-TAKE-FV *WHAT'S UP* COP-C5-SWEET
Come and take. What's up? It's a sweet

This example comes from a four-year-old girl, addressing her two-year-old sister. It is not clear how much the child knows about the English phrase *what's up?* used here, but it was used in a relevant situation, to try and elicit why the younger sister would not come and take the sweet. The example illustrates the early stages of English acquisition, and the fact that it might be transmitted from a young child to an even younger child. It also features a particular Zulu construction in the phrase *wozothatha*. Literally, this phrase is *woza uthatha*, but it shows a standard coalescence of the two vowels *a* and *u* into *o*. What is not standard is the ending in *-a* for indicative on *-thatha*, while Zulu syntax would require the subjunctive ending *-e*, following the first verbal phrase *woza*. But the form above is regular in White City¹³, and can be heard in other common phrases such as *wozobona* ‘come and see,’ or *hambodlala* ‘go and play.’

Example 5.11:

So what? So what?

This example comes from a boy just under three years of age, who was being teased by two older boys (aged eight and nine). He uttered this English sentence when one of the older boys told him he did not want to speak with him. The young boy knows very little English, having started kindergarten a few weeks after the recording. But he picked up this sentence, possibly from his fifteen-year-old brother and role model, and he understands in what situation it is to be used. This example stresses again the precocity of English acquisition among White City children.

¹³Recording 3 features about a dozen examples of this structure, from the mother to the daughters especially.

Examples 5.12 to 5.16 below involve longer sentences, the production of which demands a more extensive knowledge of English. Yet these sentences are non-standard, and some would constitute obvious mistakes to a fluent English speaker, even to a speaker of Soweto English. They are meant to illustrate the practice of English by children who have started acquiring it as an independent variety, but who are not fluent.

Example 5.12

Mama, I'm in home. Ok, ma baby
Mum, I'm at home / in the house. Ok, my baby

This example was produced by a seven-year-old boy who was investigating and playing with the recorder. The use of English here is a demonstration directed at me (his friend had just explained that I was listening to their speech). At his age, the boy is learning English at school, but is not yet experiencing it as a medium of instruction. He produces a learner's mistake in using the preposition *in*. Also, the possessive *my* is pronounced *ma* (with a vowel [a:]) according to the local way, which is conform to the pronunciation of many South African English varieties (from discussions with Derek Gowlett and Prof. Rajend Mesthrie), including that learned by the boy at school.

Example 5.13:

He leaved?
He left?

This example also comes from a seven-year-old boy in a group discussion. He was inquiring about one of his friends who had gone out of sight. The use of a non-standard form of the English preterite *left* reflects again an attempt at English by a child who has been learning it at school but does not often use it by himself. It is a common generalisation of the English rule of past formation that corresponds to a well-known transitory mechanism in first and second language acquisition. Several times, I heard this form from adults, but certain local people explained that users of this form are those who did not benefit from much education in English, for instance due to political resistance and its effects on schools during the 1970s and 1980s.

Example 5.14:

Hayi nyoba la, nyoba la... hayi *finger fuck* *de'tirat!*
 EXCL. FUCK HERE FUCK HERE EXCL. FINGER FUCK DIRTY RAT!

Hey fuck here, fuck here... hey finger fucker dirty rat!

This example of vulgar speech is from a nine-year-old girl. She is replying rudely to a friend of hers, who is of the same age. The nominal phrase in English corresponds to common local insults. *Dirty rat* in particular is often used by males in the peer group, and it is demeaning although not very offensive, due to its common use as a bond marker between friends. The phrase is to be perceived as a local colloquialism more than a demonstration of English skills.

Example 5.15:

A' you going at the park?

This example was produced during a time of role playing, when the seven- to nine-year-old boys played taxi drivers. The auxiliary is pronounced [ɑ:], which corresponds to its common pronunciation in Black South African English. The boy also makes use of a non-standard construction with the preposition *at*, as English normally requires *to* with movement verbs. The use of English seems to be justified by the domain of taxis. In fact, it happens in local taxis that drivers or passengers ask such questions in English, for no obvious reason, when the use of Zulu or Sotho would be as natural.

Example 5.16:

Let's go to Playstation.

In this example, the eight-year-old boy is addressing his nine-year-old friend, and he wants to take him back to the game console. An article is missing between the preposition and the noun. It is not clear why the boy used English: maybe because of the domain of video games, or maybe because the two older boys have been trying to impress the three-year-old boy who has interfered with their game. Interestingly, the younger boy understood the utterance, and replied by asking, in Zulu, if he could play too. This is another example of the early transmission of English from one older child to a younger one.

Examples 5.17 to 5.19 below are meant to illustrate the use of Standard English sentences, or full phrases.

Example 5.17:

I don't think so.

This example comes from a group discussion, when the seven- to nine-year-old boys examine the recorder – which they take for a phone – and discuss whether it can play music. It is a short but well-formed sentence, produced by the child who was carrying the recorder. This boy has the opportunity to practise English regularly when he visits his brother, and his brother's wife who is English-speaking. It could explain why the sentence is standard, while other examples of English from his friends in the same interaction are non-standard. But he also uses a phrase that non-speakers of English may learn easily, without being aware of its internal composition.

Example 5.18:

They tell us about, si-ya-y-az-i lelo-yo-ndaba.

IPL-PRES.DISJUNC-C9-KNOW-FV DEM.C5-C9-STORY

They tell us about, we know that story

This example comes from a nine-year old girl, addressing a girl of the same age. The topic here is firecrackers, but the point made is a general comment about their danger. *They* refers here to local people non-specifically. The example also features an example of a complex Zulu demonstrative, other than the basic set *la*, *le*, *lo*. But two different demonstratives seem to be combined: *lelo* from class 5, and *leyo* from class 9. It is not clear if the form is deliberate, or if it is a mistake. But class 5 is inappropriate, as the noun *indaba* is from class 9. The girl who produced it comes from a (Northern) Sotho/Zulu bilingual family.

Example 5.19:

U-*namba wan*. I'm number two.

2S-NUMBER ONE

You are number one. I'm number two.

This example contains a first sentence which is Zulu, but only the system morpheme indicates it, as the content words are English. In this first sentence, the noun number is pronounced by the boy as [namba], accordingly with Black South African English pronunciation, while in the second it is pronounced as [nʌmbə]. Note that numerals are always in English in White City speech (see page 135). The second sentence is in English, and the switch may be explained by the topic, a video game. It is simple enough to produce in a standard way, but the nine-year-old boy who produced it is not generally fluent in English.

The twelve examples above illustrate the range of English utterances in the children's speech. Differences have been explained by the age of the children, but also by the English material used in a particular setting. More importantly, these examples demonstrate aspects of the multiple language acquisition experienced by the children. They acquire English features when these are used either in Zulu sentences, or as separate sentences. Of course they also acquire some of the English material from adults (the data presented in Chapter 7 will stress this). But more importantly, they learn English from other children. English terms or phrases used in Zulu speech could be counted as borrowings by other analysts. Yet, it is important to remember that adults, teenagers as well as older children do speak English, and that they are aware of the English origins of the terms. As such, if these words could be analysed as borrowings in the speech of the younger children, they could count as code alternations among older children and adults. But this would not reflect the fact that they are used in all local varieties, and thus belong to all local languages at once.

On the basis of this fact, I can state that a form of local English, although not the main variety, is part of native language acquisition in White City. Whereas the use of English by the children can be very limited until the later years of primary school, it increases with age when it becomes a medium of instruction. The children are familiar with its phonology from an early age. English is occasionally used intensively by local people, and is dominant in the media, both locally and nationally.

A last aspect of the use of English should be mentioned: certain utterances counted as base language English, whereas the sentence in English consists only of one discourse marker. These include markers such as *shit!*, *fuck!* or *shame...* It is now necessary to detail the production of language mix in the children's speech, in order to understand how the different languages of White City interact with each other.

2. An Analysis of Language Mix in the Children's Speech: Languages in Interaction.

Language mix can take two forms: the first is referred to here as language alternation, which translates into a change in the base language. It can be either intrasentential, i.e. alternation from phrase to phrase within the same sentence; or intersentential, i.e. alternation between two sentences. The second form concerns a lexical insertion and I use this term equally with lexical borrowing.

In a first sub-section, I examine instances of language alternation, identified in the data by the use of two 'Language' codes for the same turn of speech, and specification of whether the

alternation is intersentential or intrasentential. In a second sub-section, I focus on lexical borrowing, and all turns of speech coded with a ‘Mix: Insert’ code – excluding Iscamtho and Prison Slang. A thorough statistical analysis of lexical borrowing is proposed. In a third sub-section, I propose a qualitative description of the material borrowed by grammatical category.

2.1 Language Alternation in the Children’s Speech

The total count of alternations in the base language within the same turn amounts to 51 for the children’s data. Table 5.2 below gives a detailed account of the types of alternations produced by each category of children according to age and gender.

Table 5.2: Number of Switches According to Age-Gender Group, by Type

	Under 5 Female	Under 5 Male	5 to 6 Female	5 to 6 Male	7 to 9 Female	7 to 9 Male	TOTAL
Intersentential Alternation	1	10	0	1	8	4	24
Intrasentential Alternation	0	5	0	1	9	10	25
TOTAL	1	15	0	2	16	15	51

Apart from the under-represented case of girls in the five-to-six age group, what is striking at first is the fact that alternations occurred among all age categories. Also, similar numbers between very young boys and older boys can be noted, again to the exception of the five-to-six category. However the numbers for intersentential and intrasentential switches are reversed from the under-five age group, to the seven-to-nine age group. In proportion, the values in the above table are not equivalent. Hence in the under-five male group, 15 alternations represent 11.1% of all utterances in this category. In contrast, the total number of alternations represents 3.6% for girls between seven and nine, and 1.4% for boys between seven and nine. It appears that the under-five male category shows the highest rate of alternations, but this category is mainly represented in the data by one single boy (more than 90% of all turns in this group). As such, the very high rate of alternations in his speech must not lead to general conclusions about all male children of his age.

The weak score of the under-five females is due to the fact that the two girls that provided most of the turns analysed for this category are siblings: their family’s speech is largely dominated by Zulu. Another girl was recorded, but the recording provided very little material.

Also, it is striking to see, among older children, that girls and boys tend to alternate in

comparable numbers, with 17 alternations for girls, and 15 for boys. Details of each type of switch are provided in the two tables below, describing what languages are involved in the two types of alternations.

Table 5.3: Languages Involved in Intersentential Switches, by Age-Gender Categories

	Under 5 Female Intersentential Alternations	Under 5 Male Intersentential Alternations	5 to 6 Male Intersentential Alternations	7 to 9 Female Intersentential Alternations	7 to 9 Male Intersentential Alternations	TOTAL
Afrikaans	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bantu Other	0	0	0	0	0	0
English	1	3	0	6	4	14
Sotho	0	9	1	1	0	11
Undetermined	0	0	0	1	0	1
Zulu	1	10	1	6	4	22
TOTAL	2	22	2	14	8	48

Table 5.3 features a total of 48 alternations, which is double that for intersentential switches in Table 5.2. This is due to the fact that two languages are involved in each alternation. Note also that not all groups of children produced intersentential alternations, which is why the five-to-six girls are missing from the table. The case of alternations in an undetermined language correspond to a switch from Zulu to the phrase *askies my friend* ‘sorry my friend,’ combining Afrikaans and English, which cannot be classified as a recognizable language. Several important points emerge from this table:

- The younger children already practice alternations involving English.
- At least for the under-five boy whose family speaks Sotho and Zulu, alternations involving these two languages are quite common. However among older children, they are rare, and Sotho is hardly ever part of an alternation.
- The three languages that have been shown in Section 1 to have significance in White City’s public space, are the three languages involved in intersentential alternations.

Table 5.4: Languages Involved in Intrasentential Switches, by Age-Gender Categories

	Under 5 Male Intrasentential Alternation	5 to 6 Male Intrasentential Alternation	7 to 9 Female Intrasentential Alternation	7 to 9 Male Intrasentential Alternation	TOTAL
Afrikaans	0	0	0	0	0
Bantu Other	0	0	0	0	0
English	0	0	8	7	15
Sotho	5	1	1	3	10
Undetermined	0	0	0	0	0

Zulu	5	1	9	10	25
TOTAL	10	2	18	20	50

Table 5.4 features a total of 50 switches, which is double the number of intrasentential switches in Table 5.2. The reason for this has been given. Also, under-five females and five-to-six females do not feature. The table reveals the following patterns:

- Younger children do not include English in intrasentential alternations, as opposed to what they do in intersentential ones. This may indicate that they conceive of English as a separate variety and that whatever skills in English they have, the younger children produce English structures only separately.

- Overall, English is as frequent in intrasentential switches performed by the older children as it was in intersentential switches (15 out of 50 in Table 5.4; 14 out of 48 in Table 5.3).

- Intrasentential switches involving Sotho are present in all four age categories represented, and the difference between the under-five males and the seven-to-nine males is not very significant: 5 alternations involving Sotho out of 42 utterances in Sotho for the under-five males, or 11.09%; compared to 3 alternations involving Sotho out of 23 utterances in Sotho for the seven-to-nine males, or 13.04%. This contrasts with intersentential switches, for which Sotho was favoured by one younger boy only.

- Again, only Zulu, Sotho and English are involved in intrasentential switches.

The study of language alternations produced by the children shows certain trends. But alternation is not the most common way for the children to practice multilingualism. Hence it is now necessary to focus on multilingual lexical borrowings.

2.2 Lexical Borrowing in the Speech of the Children

The tables below present the detailed statistics for all borrowings in the children's data. Details of all following counts by age-gender categories are provided in Appendix 4. The following aspects of the sociolinguistic context of borrowings are detailed for each age-gender category: the base languages in which the borrowings appear; the source languages from which the borrowings come; the registers used when borrowings appear; the person addressed; and the topic discussed. Also, a count of the linguistic nature of the terms borrowed will be given in the case of Afrikaans and English, as well as related examples. The total count of multilingual borrowings in the children's

speech is set as indicated in Table 5.5 below.

Table 5.5: Distribution of Turns of Speech Containing Borrowings across languages, by Age-Gender Categories

	Under 5 Female	Under 5 Male	5 to 6 Female	5 to 6 Male	7 to 9 Female	7 to 9 Male	TOTAL
Insert Afrikaans	3	1	2	2	23	25	56
Insert Bantu Other	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
Insert English	41	24	3	24	153	263	508
Insert Sotho	0	4	0	2	8	12	26
Insert Zulu	0	6	0	0	2	4	12
TOTAL	44	35	5	28	186	309	607

The total number of turns from children that contain borrowings is 607. It represents about 31% of the 1 960 turns analysed. Regarding the under-five children, the totals for both genders represent about 21.8% of all turns analysed for this category, distributed as 19.5% for girls and 25.9% for boys. For the five- to six-year-old children, the proportion is about 34.7%, with 31.8% for boys and 71.4% for girls (but a larger corpus of data would be necessary for a more reliable and significant result in this category). For the seven-to-nine age group, the proportion is about 32.7%. Considering the large amount of data for this last group, this figure is highly significant: almost a third of the speech of the children aged from seven to nine years old includes borrowings. Interestingly, in proportion to the total number of turns analysed per gender in this group, the girls' speech features more borrowings than that of the boys. As a percentage, this translates into a proportion of about 42.2% for girls, as opposed to about 29% for boys.

These two percentages are important: not only do the children in the seven-to-nine group use multilingual material, but they do so in large proportion. Furthermore, cases of turns containing borrowings can be analysed that indicate that multilingual insertion is part of the local language, rather than a particular style feature. In addition, as the girls' speech is more multilingual than that of the boys, previous assumptions about Iscamtho being a multilingual variety primarily used by boys cannot hold the test of the data. Rather, the variety supporting Iscamtho is mixed; it is used by all children; and girls seem to produce speech with mixed lexicon to a larger extent.

Several other points emerge from Table 5.5. First, English emerges as a source language for about 83.7% of all borrowings. Secondly, Afrikaans is much more significant as a source of

borrowings than as a base language. In addition, Afrikaans borrowings are used across all age groups. Third, Sotho and Zulu are both sources of borrowings. I should specify that all Sotho inserts were counted in Zulu sentences, apart from two in turns where the language could not be identified; and Zulu inserts were counted in Sotho sentences, apart from two instances where the language could not be identified.

One case of ‘Other Bantu’ borrowing is redundant, as it is the same as example 5.7 above. This reflects the fact that it is impossible to decide whether the sentence is Xhosa or Zulu. Both readings being valid, I counted the sentence as featuring both alternation and borrowing. All the other cases include the Xhosa word *tata* ‘father,’ normally used to address an older man, and in this particular case it is indeed used to refer to the same old man who is a neighbour of the boys who speak. It is unclear whether the man is actually Xhosa.

The case of Sotho and Zulu borrowing is enlightening, as it contradicts previous claims about urban mixed speech in other townships of Johannesburg. Thus, Finlayson, Calteaux and Myers-Scotton (1998:404) observed in their study of mixed speech among Tembisa residents, that Zulu and Sotho did not occur together: neither as borrowed lexicon from one language into the base of the other; nor as alternated bases; nor even as parallel sources of borrowings into English speech. Table 5.5 demonstrates that both Sotho and Zulu are sources of borrowing in the speech of the children.

Table 5.6: Base Languages Used in Turns of Speech with Borrowings, According to the Source Languages for the Borrowings

	Insert Afrikaans	Insert Bantu Other	Insert English	Insert Sotho	Insert Zulu	TOTAL
Afrikaans	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bantu Other	0	1	0	1	0	2
English	1	0	21	0	0	22
Sotho	2	0	22	0	10	34
Undetermined	3	0	6	1	2	12
Zulu	53	5	485	24	2	569
TOTAL	59	6	534	26	14	639

Table 5.6 presents a higher total than that for turns of speech containing borrowings in Table 5.5, as one turn of speech may contain borrowings from several source languages, and as one turn of speech with a single borrowing may involve several base languages. These two aspects also explain why inserts from one source language may appear together with the same base language. This should actually read, for instance, as: “2 turns of speech featuring a Zulu insert also featured a

phrase or sentence in Zulu.” Another example would be: “21 turns containing an English borrowing also contained a phrase or sentence in English.” Hence the fact that Zulu and English inserts are not actually counted as being produced in a Zulu or English sentence, respectively. The following example illustrates this situation:

Example 5.20:

Ngi-zo-gruv-a *until the morning*
 1s-FUT-GROOVE-FV *UNTIL THE MORNING*
I'll groove until the morning

The row ‘Undetermined’ attests to the fact that certain utterances are simply impossible to classify, even complex ones with full sentences. Several cases of borrowings counted in an undetermined base language will be analysed in the next chapters. Some are most revealing regarding the outcome of language contact in White City.

What Table 5.6 shows is that certain source languages result in borrowings in specific base languages, while others result in borrowing regardless of the base language. As such, Afrikaans borrowings are almost exclusively in Zulu (89.8% of Afrikaans insertions), even though one occurred in the same turn as an English sentence, and two occurred in Sotho sentences. The link between Zulu and Sotho borrowings with Sotho and Zulu respectively as base languages also appears clearly. On the contrary, English borrowings occur in Zulu and Sotho, and they are often associated with the use of English in the same turn.

Regardless of the source of borrowings, the proportions of total numbers of borrowings on each line, compared to the total utterances in each language, reveal that the base language has little influence on whether borrowings will be used:

- all turns including one other Bantu language featured borrowings;
- 31.9% of turns containing an utterance in English featured borrowings;
- 33.3% of turns containing an utterance in Sotho featured borrowings;
- 31.9% of turns containing an in utterance Zulu featured borrowings.

Finally, the proportions in the total between Zulu, Sotho and English as base languages of turns containing borrowings, fit the proportions of each in the total number of turns analysed:

- 3.4% of borrowings were used in turns in English, when English is the base language in 3.5% of all turns from children.

- 5.3% of borrowings were used in turns in Sotho, when Sotho represents 5.2% of all utterances from children.

- 89% of borrowings were used in turns in Zulu, when Zulu represents 90.8% of all turns from the children.

In other words, if the use of one base language over another may influence the source language of the borrowing, it does not affect the proportion of turns featuring a borrowing. About a third of the children's speech includes borrowings, no matter what language is being spoken.

Table 5.7: Locations where Turns from the Children Containing Borrowings Occurred

	Insert Afrikaans	Insert Bantu Other	Insert English	Insert Sotho	Insert Zulu	TOTAL
Backroom	10	0	67	5	2	84
House	7	0	47	1	0	55
Shop	1	0	38	0	0	39
Street	35	5	309	11	2	362
Yard	3	0	50	9	8	70
TOTAL	56	5	511	26	12	610

Table 5.7 is instructive from a qualitative perspective. It features a total higher than that of turns featuring borrowings, due to the fact that in three instances, the children are moving from the yard to the street, or the contrary, and it is impossible to decide which of the two locations should be retained. The proportions in this table also fit the proportions of total turns uttered in each location, although with less exactitude than in the case of base languages in Table 5.7:

- 13.8% of borrowings occurred in the backroom, when 15.9% of turns from children occurred in the backroom;

- 9% of borrowings occurred in the house, when 7.15% of turns from children occurred in the house;

- 6.3% of borrowings occurred at the shop, when 8.6% of turns from children occurred at the shop;

- 59.3% of borrowings occurred on the street, when 68% of turns from children occurred on the street;

- 11.4% of borrowings occurred in the yard, when 9.4% of turns from children occurred in the yard.

Location can hence be said not to be a highly relevant factor for the occurrence of borrowing in

the children's speech, as no proportion is overturned in the case of any location. Two points need explaining here. Borrowings from Zulu did not appear in the house, and only one borrowing from Sotho did. One cannot be certain from the limited numbers recorded, but it may indicate that they correspond to certain ways of speaking that the children do not use at home. One can hypothesise that when using their home language in the home, children tend not to mix it with the other dominant Bantu language of White City. On the contrary, Afrikaans and English borrowings are used at home, as well as in all other contexts. This strengthens the claims that many 'borrowed' terms are no longer actively borrowed, but have become an integral part of the local mixed variety after years of urbanisation.

Table 5.8: Registers Used in Turns Containing Borrowings According to the Source Language of the Borrowing

	Insert Afrikaans	Insert Bantu Other	Insert English	Insert Sotho	Insert Zulu	TOTAL
Iscamtho	11	0	38	0	1	50
Local Variety - Neutral	44	5	469	25	10	553
Undetermined	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vulgar	1	0	4	1	1	7
TOTAL	56	5	511	26	12	610

Table 5.8 also features a total higher than the total in Table 5.5. It is not surprising, as a few turns of speech containing borrowings may feature two registers. The neutral register is distinguished from the vulgar register by the use of vulgar terms such as swearing and insults, and from the Iscamtho register by the use of terms belonging to the Iscamtho slang. While, at first, it may look as though borrowings are more associated with a neutral local register than with Iscamtho slang or vulgar speech, this is not the case. In fact, the proportions in Table 5.8 correspond rather to the proportions of each register in the children's general speech:

- 8.1% of borrowings occurred in the Iscamtho register, when this register represents 7.6% of all turns from children;
- 90.7% of borrowings occurred in the local neutral register, when this register represents 90.8% of all turns from children;
- 1.15% of borrowings occurred in the vulgar register, when this register represents 0.6% of all turns from children.

It seems that no particular association is to be made between the use of multilingual lexicon,

from either English or Afrikaans in particular, and the use of a particular register, although the vulgar register may induce an increase in borrowings. Yet, this possibility cannot be ascertained from the low values recorded for this register, and we can only speculate when concluding that vulgar speech has an effect on borrowings. Also, no pattern appears regarding the use of a particular source language for borrowings in any specific register, apart from the absence of Sotho in the Iscamtho register. But this point also requires to be ascertained on the basis of a larger corpus of Sotho speech, and the trend that can be observed may not be verified in a context where Sotho is more present.

Table 5.9: Addressees of Turns of Speech Containing Borrowings from the Children, According to the Source Language for the Borrowings

	Insert Afrikaans	Insert Bantu Other	Insert English	Insert Sotho	Insert Zulu	TOTAL
Child Same Age Female	17	0	103	7	2	129
Child Same Age Male	26	5	238	10	1	280
Younger Child Female	1	0	11	0	0	12
Younger Child Male	2	0	23	2	4	31
Older Child Female	0	0	13	1	0	14
Older Child male	0	0	28	4	3	35
Young Teenager Male	2	0	14	1	0	17
Speaking Alone	1	0	8	0	2	11
Adult Female	5	0	50	0	0	55
Adult Male	2	0	22	1	0	25
Elderly Female	0	0	1	0	0	1
Elderly Male	0	0	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	56	5	512	26	12	611

Table 5.9 again features a total higher than the total number of turns containing borrowings. This is normal, as one turn can be addressed to two people. Table 5.9 is enlightening with regard to the content of the data, but it cannot lead to conclusions regarding correlations about the use of multilingual borrowings according to the addressee of a turn of speech: firstly, because the participation of different kinds of addressees in the recordings is circumstantial and contextual; secondly, all types of addressees are addressed with turns containing borrowings more or less in the same proportions as turns directed at those addressees in the data:

- Child same age Female: 21.1% of borrowings, for 16.8% of turns from children;
- Child same age Male: 45.8% of borrowings, for 50.2% of turns from children;
- Younger child Female: 1.9% of borrowings, for 2.8% of turns from children;

- Younger child Male: 5.1% of borrowings, for 4.6% of all turns from children;
- Older child Female: 2.3% of borrowings, for 2.3% of all turns from children;
- Older child Male: 5.7% of borrowings, for 6% of turns from children;
- Young teenager Male: 2.7% of borrowings, for 3% of turns from children;
- Speaking Alone: 1.8% of borrowings, for 1.6% of turns from children;
- Adult Female: 9% of borrowings, for 8.1% of turns from children;
- Adult Male: 4.1% of borrowings, for 4.5% of turns from children;
- Elderly Female: 0.16% of borrowings, for 0.15% of turns from children;
- Elderly Male: 0.16% of borrowings, for 0.15% of turns from children.

These proportions indicate that the addressee of a turn does not have any influence on the use of borrowings. Two notable points emerge however regarding the source of borrowings: adults are addressed with borrowings from English and Afrikaans, while borrowings from Zulu and Sotho are directed to children rather. This confirms that each set of borrowings does not occur for the same reasons (see above and Chapter 7). Borrowings from ‘Other Bantu’ languages all occurred in the same discussion, in a group of male peers aged seven to nine. Finally, borrowings, particularly from English, are also used by children when they speak to themselves. This applies mainly to the younger children, who are more often by themselves to play.

Table 5.10: Topics Used in Turns Containing Borrowings, According to the Source Language of the Borrowing

	Insert Afrikaans	Insert Bantu Other	Insert English	Insert Sotho	Insert Zulu	TOTAL
Crime Related	3	0	14	0	0	17
Firecrackers	1	0	19	1	0	21
Money	5	0	19	0	0	24
Parenting	4	0	44	0	0	48
Recorder	4	0	86	1	1	92
Role playing	13	0	60	6	2	81
School	1	0	10	0	0	11
Sports	1	0	6	0	0	7
Taxi	9	0	44	4	1	58
Technology	4	0	45	2	0	51
Trade	1	1	14	1	0	17

What Table 5.10 shows most strikingly, is the diversity of topics that may lead to the use of borrowings (the Table does not reflect proportions of turns with borrowings in the topics discussed,

but absolute figures). The statistics for Zulu and Sotho borrowings are not very meaningful, given the small number for each. However for English and Afrikaans, the repartition of each is quite similar along topics (Afrikaans being far less represented). Note the importance of English borrowings in the topics ‘Parenting,’ ‘Recorder,’ ‘Technology,’ ‘Role Playing’ or ‘Taxi.’ The recorder, or domains tied to technology such as cell phones and video games, can be expected to induce the use of English borrowings. But domains such as parenting or role playing rather indicate that multilingual lexicon is deeply rooted in the local variety. The proportion of turns counting a borrowing could be calculated, but since only turns featuring a notable structural trait were given a ‘Topic’ code, such a calculation would necessarily be biased, as only turns featuring a form of language mix or a term from Iscamtho would appear in the total numbers for each topic.

2.3 The Qualitative Analysis of Multilingual Borrowings

This sub-section is focused on the cases of Afrikaans and English, the two most important providers of borrowings. Numbers are provided regarding Zulu and Sotho borrowings, but several of those will be analysed in detail in Chapter 7. In the following paragraphs, all numbers given represent types, not tokens: each word is taken into account only once. These numbers are therefore not indicative of proportions. Furthermore, the categorisation of a word according to its grammatical function is done according to its function in the turns analysed, not in the source language. The reader will note in the data provided in Appendix 6, that borrowings may be sometimes phonologically or morphologically adapted, sometimes not. Moreover, the figures below include borrowings emanating from adults, which are not different from the children’s in nature, and which are useful to the understanding of the children’s use of these borrowings. When a word was used by adults and not by children, it is indicated. Borrowings of elements counting as system morphemes are analysed in Chapter 7, but were not taken into account in the statistics, as they represent a different kind of material.

The Use of English Borrowings

The classification of English borrowings is determined as follows: 142 nouns; 37 verbs; 23 adverbs; 16 adjectives; 6 discourse markers; 3 pronouns; 4 conjunctions;

In the above count, certain nouns also appear as discourse markers. Several clarifications are

necessary:

- Out of the 23 adverbs, 3 are originally adjectives used as adverbs (*easy, wrong, straight*); in addition to the 23, 6 adverbial phrases including a noun, and either an adjective or an adverb, do not appear in the count. They were taken into account in the language alternation count.

- Out of the 142 nouns, several are compounds reduced to one word (*ibhastop* ‘the bus stop’ or *ikholdrhink* ‘the cold drink,’ for which the compound may be considered to exist before the term was borrowed). Two are compounds including an English determinant (*this thing* and *ma darling* ‘my darling’), and they could count, according to the principles of the MLF model, as ‘language islands.’ Another interesting point regarding nouns is that one such noun, used in Zulu, has received an added Sotho adjectival suffix. This produced the word *i-piece-nyana* ‘a little piece’ which is analysed in Chapter 7.

A particular category of adjectives has not been counted in the above figures, in order to avoid creating a bias in the count, considering their large proportion. The adjectives referred to here are borrowings of English numeral adjectives. In Standard Zulu, numbers from one to five are adjectives, which can be suffixed to the noun, or used as qualitative or predicative. Other numbers work as qualitative or predicative also. But as noted by Gunnink (2012:48) “in Sowetan Zulu, numerals, which are all borrowings from English, are brought into agreement with a head noun by use of a relative agreement concord and a copulative prefix.” The structure appears as such:

Example 5.21:

Laba aba-yi -two. Mele u -biz -e o-yi -wan
DEM.2 C2 -COP-TWO CONJ 2S-CALL-SUBJ.FV REL.1-COP-ONE
These they are two. You must call only one.

In this example, the local structure for numerals appears twice. Also, the term *mele*, used here as a conjunctive, marks a change from Standard Zulu, in which *-melwe* is a deficient verb used as an auxiliary, with a passive extension *-w-* and an imperative ending *-e*. It is nevertheless followed by a verb in the subjunctive form, as *-melwe* would.

Numerals also appear in English with date, time or age (see Chapter 7). The number may be used in a compound for age, as in the following example, from an exchange between a nine-year-old boy and a nine-year-old girl.

Example 5.22:

Ba-th -i ngi-na -*nine* *and* ngi-na-seven years
C2-SAY-VF 1s-CONJ-NINE AND 1s-CONJ-SEVEN YEARS
They say I'm nine and I am seven years old

U-na-*nine* years
2s-CONJ-NINE YEARS
You're nine years old

The structure here is different from the original Zulu structure, which even with the borrowing of an English number would appear as:

Ngi-ne-mi-nyaka e-yi-seven
1s-CONJ-C4-YEAR REL -COP-SEVEN
I am seven (or literally, I have years that are seven)

In Standard Zulu rather than local Zulu, the copulative prefix *-ngu-* would be used instead of *-yi-*.

To conclude with the qualitative description of English borrowings, I should add that even though several logical connecting phrases and adverbs are used by adults and children alike (*that's why*, ... *is like...*, or *maybe*), only three conjunctions appear in English in the children's speech. The word *and*, which sometimes appears as *ende* with a final vowel, or as *en'* with an elision of the final consonant – possibly then from Afrikaans rather than from English – is fairly common among all children, and appears much more often than its Zulu equivalent *futhi*. Three instances are also present from children using the conjunction *or*, and two from adults. Finally, one example of the use of the conjunction *for* is analysed in Chapter 7.

The Use of Afrikaans Borrowings

The classification of Afrikaans borrowings is set as follows: 8 adverbs; 5 nouns; 3 verbs; 4 adjectives; 3 discourse markers; 1 conjunction.

Among the 25 terms counted above, only two adjectives were used by an adult and not by the children (see below). Out of the three verbs, one is an imperative form *voetsek* which is used only in the meaning of 'piss off' or 'go away.' In Standard Afrikaans, it was originally used for a dog, but in informal varieties of Afrikaans around South Africa, it is used with anyone as long as formal respect is not required: among peers or from the person that has authority. Another verb *-rasa* 'make noise' is derived from the Afrikaans verb *raas* 'be noisy.' Finally, a category change

occurred with the verb *-dura* ‘be expensive’ from the adjective *duur* ‘expensive.’

Out of the 5 nouns, *man* ‘man’ is used many times by adults and children as a discourse marker, even when the recipient is not a man. It always qualifies as Afrikaans from its phonology. *Straat* ‘street’ (which appears as *-strat*, *-strati* or *-stradi* in the data), *anti* ‘auntie’ and *waslap* ‘face cloth’ are the other nouns.

The 8 adverbs from Afrikaans are: *niks* ‘nothing’, sometimes as *niksi*, which has extended its meaning to ‘never’ and is used to strengthen a negation; *nou* ‘now,’ also in the form *nou-nou*; *dankie* ‘thanks,’ *askies* ‘excuse me, sorry’ and *môre* ‘tomorrow’ are all common in the local variety, even though *môre* may not be used by more conservative speakers; *mos* ‘anyway, in fact’ and *entlek* ‘actually’ from Afrikaans *eintlik*, complete the list. All these adverbs can be heard on the street, and in homes.

The Afrikaans adjectives used are *skoon* ‘clean,’ *sleg* ‘mean, bad’ and *kort* ‘short’ but the first one is only used by a mother addressing her son, not by any of the children. A last adjective *stil* ‘still’ is used by a mother (see Chapter 6 Section 3), but it appears in Zulu as an adverb. These adjectives are common terms in the local variety, and they do not mark a particular style.

One Afrikaans conjunction is used: *mara* or *mari* ‘but’ from *maar*. Finally, the three discourse markers are *Jesis* ‘Jesus,’ *sis* ‘jeez’ and *man* ‘man.’ *Mos* and *eintlik* can also be used as discourse markers, as in Afrikaans.

The Use of Zulu and Sotho Borrowings

As shown above in the tables, the use of Sotho and Zulu borrowings is practised by younger children rather, although examples from adults are analysed in Chapter 7. Examples 5.22 to 5.24 illustrate the ways in which they are used.

Example 5.23

w-a e be-a *kude*
2S-PAST.SUBJ C9 PUT-FV ADV
You put it far

This example comes from a three-year old boy addressing another boy aged eight. The sentence is Sotho, but the adverb *kude* is from Zulu. The boy has a Sotho background, but it is not clear why he used this borrowing, as he knows its Sotho equivalent *hole*. It might be because the older boys who surrounded him during the recording used a lot of language mix, but this can only remain an

assumption.

Example 5.24

O se ke w-a *dlal-a* me-ntsi-ng a-a
2S NEG AUX 2S-PAST SUBJ PLAY-FV C6-WATER- LOC DEM.6-POS.1
You mustn't play in that water

This example was produced by a seven-year-old girl addressing her girlfriend of the same age. It is a Sotho sentence, but the verb *dlala* is from Zulu. Again it is unclear why the borrowing was used, as the girl knows the Sotho equivalent *bapala*. Most of the conversation with her girlfriends was conducted in Zulu, and many alternations from Zulu to Sotho occurred in the course of the conversation, without any obvious reason. Another mixed feature can be observed in the noun for 'water:' in Sotho, it should be *metsi*, class 6, but the girl used the form *mentsi*, in which the nasal consonant shows influence from Zulu *amanzi*, also class 6.

Example 5.25

Mina ngi-zo-ku-rob-a wena
1S.ABS 1S-FUT-2S-HIT-FV 2S.EMPH
Me I will hit you

This example comes from a five-year-old boy, who was defending himself from a twelve-year-old. The Sotho verb *roba* is used here in Zulu, and in the non-standard sense of 'hit,' whereas it originally stands for 'break.' Again the boy has a Sotho background, but the Zulu equivalent to *roba*, *-shaya*, is a very common verb that he uses throughout the recording. The young teenager he is addressing did use the word *roba* earlier in the conversation, also in a Zulu sentence. This may explain why the young boy does it too a few turns of speech later.

Conclusion:

I have described in this chapter the general speech of White City children. I have presented the linguistic context for the use of Iscamtho by the children. I have also described the use of each language by the children, as well as the interactions between languages, and the production of language alternations and lexical borrowings. The local variety has been described as an urban language, which features many borrowings and even alternations as a regular and widespread part of the language.

The sociolinguistic descriptions of multilingualism and mixed speech have also been given.

Certain patterns have been uncovered regarding the use of certain varieties, or the use of certain sources of borrowings. But all groups of children have been shown to produce borrowings and alternations, and mixed features have been established as usual parts of all the children's speech. Moreover, factors such as register, supervision, location or addressee were shown not to have any influence on the use of mixed speech, particularly through borrowings.

I have illustrated the fact that children in White City start making use of English, especially, at a very young age, through phrases that have entered the local mixed variety and are stable features in local practices. Furthermore, I have shown that the children's proficiency in English increases with age. Examples were also given of transmission of English between very young children.

Finally, the nature of the borrowings has been analysed and counted, and different patterns have been revealed regarding English, Afrikaans as well as the Bantu languages Zulu and Sotho. It is time to examine the use of Iscamtho, which can now be contextualised, also in detail, to complete the description of the children's speech from the statistical and the conversational perspectives.

Chapter 6: Analysis of Iscamtho Use in the Children's speech

I present in this chapter the results of both the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the use of Iscamtho by the children. I clarify the types of items used, and the conditions under which they are used. I also justify my approach of Iscamtho as lexicon, but I stress the different social statuses of different categories of lexicon.

I present the analysed data, and together with the study of topics and registers, I demonstrate that not all (historical) Iscamtho lexical items belong to a specific slang register or style of Iscamtho. On the contrary, many are now neutral items of the local variety (the syntactic base for Iscamtho lexicon). I focus on a few items for which categorisation as Iscamtho may be disputed. Tables presented in this chapter do not feature results for the group of girls under five years old. This is because the young girls did not use Iscamtho *per se*. However they did use, in nicknames, some stylistic features originating in Iscamtho, which are presented and analysed below.

Regarding the statistical analysis, I retain a narrow definition of Iscamtho, which does not include items that have acquired a neutral status, but which includes those with a contested status. This chapter is organised in three sections. In Section 1, I present the results of the general statistical analysis of the use of Iscamtho by the children. I also revise a number of assumptions made previously about Iscamtho and its sociolinguistic patterns of use. In Section 2, I present a qualitative description of the Iscamtho material collected from the children. I distinguish different categories, and different patterns of use. I also relate each category to people and situations. This allows me to argue for a diachronic approach to the development of Iscamtho. In Section 3, I offer a description of how Iscamtho is used in interaction, by presenting a number of excerpts from the data. I describe White City children's language and their use of Iscamtho in situ. I also provide an analysis of Iscamtho in use to test Iscamtho's position within local registers, style and slang.

1. Statistical Analysis of the Use of Iscamtho

Out of 1 960 turns of speech analysed, Iscamtho items were counted in 167 turns. This represents about 8.5% of the total. This figure already contradicts the view of Iscamtho as an adult male slang. Yet Section 3 demonstrates that this number was inflated by the presence of the recorder, and by the fact that some parents instructed the children to speak tsotsitaal. The following tables further expand on the context and content of these utterances.

Table 6.1: Languages Used in Turns of Speech Containing Iscamtho, According to Age-Gender Categories

	Under 5 Male Insert Iscamtho	5 to 6 Female Insert Iscamtho	5 to 6 Male Insert Iscamtho	7 to 10 Female Insert Iscamtho	7 to 10 Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTAL
Afrikaans	0	0	0	1	0	1
Bantu Other	0	0	0	0	0	0
English	0	0	0	1	1	2
Sotho	1	0	1	1	2	5
Undetermined	0	0	0	0	3	3
Zulu	5	1	19	35	100	160
TOTAL	6	1	20	38	106	171

Table 6.1 features a total of 171 turns of speech, higher than the 167 turns containing Iscamtho. In four instances only, the turn counts two languages. Table 6.1 reveals one rather clear result: Iscamtho among White City children is primarily tied to the use of Zulu. In fact, the proportion of Zulu in this table is about 93.5%, while in Table 5.1 presenting the use of languages in the total speech of the children, it was 88.2%. To illustrate the most common case, here is an instance of Iscamtho used in a turn in Zulu:

Example 6.1:

Cava u-mkenke wa-mi
 LOOK.IMP C1-CRACK C1.POS-1S.PRON
Look at my crack (under my feet)

The smaller figures in the table, however, are not to be taken too literally: as the table analyses the languages used in the turn containing Iscamtho, it may count several languages for each turn. It means that Iscamtho was not used in Afrikaans or in English, but that Afrikaans and English were

used in turns containing Iscamtho. In the case of Sotho, the total number in the table is 6. However in one case, the Iscamtho utterance is separate and cannot be classified as one language:

Example 6.2:

Lereko! Ko mang, Lereko? **Stol, stol.**

NAME LOC WHO NAME STOP STOP

Lereko! From whom, Lereko? Don't go, don't go

In example 6.2 above, the imperative *stol* counts as Iscamtho from its sociolinguistic categorisation, but it is a borrowing from Afrikaans ‘to get to a standstill’ which is related to English *stall*. In Standard Afrikaans, the verb would be used to describe the hardening of a pudding in the fridge, or in the preterite form *gestol* to describe a car that does not start.

This leaves five cases of Iscamtho lexicon used in a Sotho sentence. This number is rather low, but must be compared to the lower frequency of Sotho in the recordings, and the fact that in recording 6, most Sotho utterances occurred in discussions that included the grandmother and the mother. The number of utterances where Iscamtho is used in Sotho represents 4.9% of the 102 Sotho utterances from children. This should be compared with the use of Iscamtho in Zulu: utterances in Zulu that contain Iscamtho represent 8.6% of all Zulu utterances from children. Thus, although absolute figures are far lower, one must not conclude that Iscamtho is rarely used in Sotho. This would be true only for the specific street where children were recorded, as in another neighbourhood the importance of Sotho could be much higher. In any case, it is confirmed that the children use Iscamtho at least in Zulu and Sotho utterances.

The children overall did not display a high diversity of languages to support Iscamtho. But rather than a diversity of base languages, a claim has been made about the linguistic nature of Iscamtho as relying on multilingual lexicon and switches in the base language. As mentioned in Chapter 2 Section 4, Iscamtho has been previously identified as constituted mainly by language-mix. Table 6.2 will help assess the accuracy of this view.

Table 6.2: Language-Mix Involved in the Children’s Utterances Containing Iscamtho, According to Age-Gender Categories

	Under 5 Male Insert Iscamtho	5 to 6 Female Insert Iscamtho	5 to 6 Male Insert Iscamtho	7 to 9 Female Insert Iscamtho	7 to 9 Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTAL
Insert Afrikaans	0	1	1	1	4	7
Insert Bantu Other	0	0	0	0	0	0
Insert English	1	0	4	8	29	42
Insert Sotho	0	0	0	1	1	2
Insert Zulu	0	0	0	0	1	1
TOTAL INSERTS	1	1	5	10	35	52
Intersentential Switch	0	0	1	0	0	1
Intrasentential Switch	0	0	0	1	1	2
TOTAL ALTER-NATIONS	0	0	1	1	1	3

Table 6.2 should be read as: ‘52 borrowings featured in turns containing Iscamtho,’ considering that one turn may count several borrowings. Table 6.2 reveals a number of trends. The first lies in the fact that boys from the under-five and five-to-six age groups, have used Iscamtho lexicon together with English lexicon (1 and 4 associations respectively). In the five-to-six age group, boys and girls have also associated Iscamtho with Afrikaans lexicon (1 association each). The small proportion of their use of Iscamtho is explained below, as well as the nature of the terms involved.

In the case of the older children in the seven-to-nine age group, the association with English lexicon is even stronger (29 insertions out of 35 for boys; 8 out 10 for girls), but it also appears that Afrikaans lexicon has been used in parallel to Iscamtho, in rather small proportions (4 insertions for boys; 1 for girls). To illustrate the association of Iscamtho and English lexicon, here is an instance from a taxi role-playing session:

Example 6.3:

Xava u-dray'va
 LOOK.IMP C1-DRIVER
Look at the driver

Example 6.3 also features a variation on the click in the verb, compared with the same verb in example 6.1, from dental to lateral click. The reason was given in Chapter 5 Section 1.

The case of the Zulu item inserted together with an Iscamtho item corresponds to an utterance which cannot be classified in any language:

Example 6.4

Niks magaya niks everything niks z-onke z-o-mhlaba niks Khotli
 NO GIVINGS NO EVERYTHING NO C10-ALL C10-POS-WORLD NO COURTLEIGH
*No giving, no everything, no anything of the world, no Courtleigh*¹⁴
 (a way to say 'you won't get anything')

Of note, Table 6.2 displays the same overall pattern of insertion of multilingual material in turns containing Iscamtho, as displayed in Table 5.5 about the total turns of speech analysed from the children. That is, English is by far the main source language, Afrikaans is significant, and all the others are more marginal.

What is most notable in this table are the 55 multilingual inserts and alternations in turns of speech containing Iscamtho – 52 borrowings and 3 code alternations – which contradicts the claim that Iscamtho is a form of multilingual speech. Considering that turns contain several multilingual features (see example 6.2), only 47 turns with Iscamtho in the children's data contained at least one multilingual element. In other words, only 28.1% of utterances containing Iscamtho were multilingual. This is in complete opposition to previous claims about the nature of Iscamtho, as more than two out of three Iscamtho utterances were monolingual.

The above figures however reflect an analysis at the level of the turn of speech. Section 3 demonstrates that at the conversation level, the association between Iscamtho and language mix is more important.

¹⁴ Courtleigh is the name of a cigarette brand, highly popular in Soweto.

Table 6.3: Registers Used in Turns of Speech Containing Iscamtho, According to Age-Gender Categories

	Under 5 Male Insert Iscamtho	5 to 6 Female Insert Iscamtho	5 to 6 Male Insert Iscamtho	7 to 9 Female Insert Iscamtho	7 to 9 Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTAL
Iscamtho Slang	6	1	14	34	79	134
Local Variety - Neutral	0	0	3	2	25	30
Undetermined	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vulgar	0	0	2	0	1	3
TOTAL	6	1	19	36	105	167

To identify the register of Iscamtho utterances, I have relied on the transcripts and recordings. The words used in the sentence and in the conversation were helpful, as was the tone. The people involved were relevant. Finally, my assistant's opinion was also taken into account.

The main point stressed by Table 6.3 is that not all instances of Iscamtho lexicon usage reflect the use of Iscamtho slang. A total of 30 utterances containing Iscamtho lexicon were deemed to belong to the neutral local register. They are dealt with in Section 2. Furthermore, the association of Iscamtho with vulgar speech is quite loose, with only 3 turns containing both Iscamtho and a vulgar utterance, which corresponds to 25% of all vulgar utterances from the children, but only 1.8% of Iscamtho utterances. While a larger set of data is necessary to clarify the relation between Iscamtho and vulgar speech, Iscamtho does not seem to be a marker of vulgarity.

Table 6.4: Locations where Iscamtho Lexicon was Used, According the Age-Gender Categories.

	Under 5 Male Insert Iscamtho	5 to 6 Female Insert Iscamtho	5 to 6 Male Insert Iscamtho	7 to 9 Female Insert Iscamtho	7 to 9 Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTAL
Backroom	2	0	0	3	1	6
House	1	1	1	2	0	5
Shop	0	0	0	1	1	2
Street	1	0	17	25	102	145
Yard	2	0	1	5	1	9
TOTAL	6	1	19	36	105	167

Table 6.4 above stresses two points in particular: on the one hand, Iscamtho is used preferably on the street which is where more than 86.8% of the 167 Iscamtho utterances occurred. Compared to the total number of turns produced on the street, this represents 11.8%. On the other hand, Iscamtho is not forbidden in other contexts, not even in the house, in the backroom or at the shop. The proportions of turns containing Iscamtho in other locations are: 2.1% of turns produced in the backroom; 3.9% of turns produced in the house; 1.3% of turns produced at the shop; and 5.3% of turns produced in the yard. Section 2 clarifies what kind of items is used where and by whom. It already appears that descriptions of Iscamtho as ‘street language’ were not completely accurate. The situation described in the table reflects the evolution of Iscamtho, from a gang language to a street language, and to a widespread style or slang that becomes part of the local language for almost everyone. Although only a larger corpus of data can lead to more definite statistical conclusions, the figures displayed here should lead to questioning about adult practices, in which the use of Iscamtho at home, for instance, may be more important.

Table 6.5: Type of Children Supervision when Iscamtho Utterances Occurred, According to Age-Gender Categories

	Under 5 Male Insert Iscamtho	5 to 6 Female Insert Iscamtho	5 to 6 Male Insert Iscamtho	7 to 9 Female Insert Iscamtho	7 to 9 Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTAL
Adult Female	0	1	1	4	0	6
Elderly Female	0	1	1	4	0	6
Teenager Male	1	0	0	0	0	1
None	6	0	18	30	105	159
TOTAL	7	2	20	38	105	172

The total of 172 turns in Table 6.5 is higher than the 167 turns containing Iscamtho in Table 6.4. This is because several adults were sometimes present to supervise children, and as such one turn may be linked to more than one code for ‘Supervision.’

Once more, a clear preference is shown for non-supervised settings for the children to use Iscamtho which is, however, not forbidden in other settings. Yet if 1.8% of utterances occurring under the supervision of an adult woman and an elderly woman contained Iscamtho, the proportion for turns that occurred under no supervision is 10.7%. Hence being under the direct supervision of an elder woman, or an adult woman (most of the time the mother), does not stop the children from using Iscamtho, but it has a clear effect on the frequency of Iscamtho terms.

Table 6.6: Addressee of Turns Containing Iscamtho, According to Age-Gender Categories

	Under 5 Male Insert Iscamtho	5 to 6 Female Insert Iscamtho	5 to 6 Male Insert Iscamtho	7 to 9 Female Insert Iscamtho	7 to 9 Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTAL
Adult Female	0	0	0	0	0	0
Adult Male	0	0	0	1	0	1
Elderly Female	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elderly Male	0	0	0	0	1	1
Child Same Age Female	0	0	1	35	1	37
Child same Age Male	1	1	0	0	86	88
Older Child Female	0	0	0	0	0	0
Older Child male	3	0	5	0	0	8
Younger Child Female	0	0	1	0	0	1
Younger Child Male	0	0	0	0	10	10
Young Teenager Male	1	0	10	0	6	17
Speaking alone	1	0	1	0	2	4
TOTAL	6	1	18	36	106	167

Table 6.6 shows two main trends, which need to be evaluated according to the representativeness of each age-gender group sample. The first trend appears in the first three columns, i.e. in the case of the younger children. The use of Iscamtho is directed at other children, and teenagers. It occurred between children of the same age, but in very limited proportions. It could be difficult for children between two and six years of age to have a lot of exchanges with younger children. Also, the samples for the five-to-six age group are very small, and caution should therefore be exercised when it comes to the representativeness of the results.

Regarding older children, Iscamtho is primarily a medium of communication among peers. Hence, seven- to nine-year-old girls speak it primarily with their female peers (35 utterances out of 36), and seven- to nine-year-old boys do so with their male peers too (86 utterances out of 106).

The case of children addressing adults in Iscamtho also needs to be explained. One adult male was addressed in Iscamtho by a girl. This refers to the example below, from a nine-year-old girl addressing her father, who was asking where she bought firecrackers:

Example 6.5:

U-ya-bon-a la-phaya, ngase u-**tshek**-a ka-Shika ngapha
2s-PRES.DISJUNC-SEE-FV DEM-POS.16 CONJ 2s-LOOK-FV POS-NAME ADV
You see that side, you should look at Shika's down there

In this example, the Iscamtho word is again a borrowing from English, but counts as Iscamtho from its sociolinguistic status. The second example occurred when a seven- to nine-year-old boy addressed an elderly man at the shop see (Section 3).

Regarding proportions, the number of turns featuring Iscamtho per type of addressee represents:

- 1.1% of turns addressed to an adult male;
- 30% of turns addressed to an elderly man, but this figure is not very meaningful, considering that only 3 turns can be counted in total;
- 11.5% of turns addressed to a female child of the same age;
- 9% of turns addressed to a male child of the same age;
- 6.7% of turns addressed to an older male child;
- 10.9% of turns addressed to a younger male child;
- 28.8% of turns addressed to a young male teenager, out of 61 turns, which makes the proportion particularly noteworthy.
- 12.5% of turns addressed to oneself.

Of note, proportions are equal or close to zero in the case of turns addressed to adult and elderly females; to an older female child; and to a younger female child. This may indicate that females are not usually addressed in Iscamtho, but a larger corpus of data is necessary to confirm this trend, especially because other factors intervened in situations where female interlocutors were addressed, such as supervision and location.

Table 6.7: Topics Discussed by the Children Using Iscamtho Lexicon, According to their Age-Gender Category

	Under 5 Male Insert Iscamtho	5 to 6 Female Insert Iscamtho	5 to 6 Male Insert Iscamtho	7 to 10 Female Insert Iscamtho	7 to 10 Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTAL
Crime Related	0	0	7	0	5	12
Firecrackers	0	0	0	2	0	2
Money	0	0	1	1	4	6
Parenting	1	0	0	0	0	1

Recorder	0	0	0	15	14	29
Role playing	0	0	9	15	12	36
School	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sport	0	0	0	0	1	1
Taxi	0	0	0	0	12	12
Technology	2	0	0	1	2	5
Trade	0	0	0	0	2	2

Table 6.7 shows absolute numbers and not all utterances were coded, as not all were related to a meaningful topic. A large diversity of topics has been addressed in Iscamtho. When compared to Table 5.10 regarding borrowings, Table 6.7 shows low numbers for ‘School,’ ‘Parenting,’ and ‘Firecrackers,’ all three topics having received high scores for borrowings. ‘Crime Related’ and ‘Taxi’ involved group interactions between peers. They show the highest rate of Iscamtho use. Both codes always co-occur with ‘Role playing,’ which explains the high score for this code. Note also the high score for the topic ‘Recorder.’

Section 1 has detailed the sociolinguistic context of the use of Iscamtho by the children. Interesting results came up, for instance regarding the scale of the use of Iscamtho by the children, its use at home and under supervision, its use by girls, or the difference between male and female addressees. This calls into question many conclusions made previously regarding the status of Iscamtho. To measure actual choices in the display of Iscamtho, it is now necessary to look at the actual Iscamtho lexical items used by the children.

2. Qualitative Analysis of Iscamtho as Used by the Children

The formal count by types of all Iscamtho items used by all children in the study amounts to 73 words, which account for all the utterances of Iscamtho in the 167 turns of speech mentioned above. The count by grammatical category of words is set as follows: 39 nouns; 31 verbs; 3 adverbs; 2 adjectives.

The following sub-sections offer a detailed count of the Iscamtho terms used by grammatical category. All the lists feature a term, its translation, the number of times it occurred and its origin – when it is known, or where assumptions can be made. Nouns figure with their class prefix when it appears in the data. Some may appear in several classes. Alternative forms are given on the lines

underneath. In some cases, nouns or verbs appear to be borrowings from common English terms (*-tsheka* ‘check’; *san* ‘boy, son’). But they still qualify as Iscamtho from their sociolinguistic value, and from the fact that speakers in White City, as well as non-speakers, would perceive them as such.

2.1 Nouns

Term	Translation	Occurrences	Origin
<i>i-authi</i>	guy, friend, mate, buddy	2	possibly from Eng. slang <i>outie</i> ‘outlaw’
<i>bop</i> as <i>i-five bop</i> or <i>i-three bop</i>	ten cents	1	Eng. slang <i>bob</i>
<i>uclever</i> <i>iclever</i> <i>abocleva</i>	guy, street boy, thug	4	Eng. <i>clever</i>
<i>daideng</i> <i>idaideng</i>	that thing, a thing	2	from Afr. <i>daai ding</i>
<i>amadais</i> <i>dah</i> as <i>i-fifty dah</i>	dice buck, rand	4 1	Eng. <i>dice</i>
<i>indlwabe</i>	masturbation	1	
<i>idzendi</i> <i>amadzendi</i>	sweet	2	
<i>-fader</i>	police, policeman	1	Afr. <i>vader</i>
<i>ifester</i>	window	1	Afr. <i>venster</i>
<i>-gaze</i>	friend, mate, buddy	2	possibly SAEng. Slang <i>cuzzy</i> ‘cousin’
<i>-gipi</i> <i>ijay’k</i> <i>ijay’ki</i>	fool, idiot swimming-pool	1 3	possibly Afr. <i>kippie</i> ‘chicken’ ¹⁵
<i>amajent</i> <i>amajents</i>	guys	2	from Eng. <i>gents</i>
<i>ikara</i>	car	3	from Eng. <i>car</i>
<i>ikasi</i>	township, neighbourhood, street	1	from Afr. <i>lokasie</i> ‘location’
<i>iskhamaraund</i> <i>ukgata</i> <i>ikgata</i> <i>amakgata</i> <i>abokgata</i>	one’s spinning around policeman	1 6	Eng. <i>come around</i>
<i>klipa</i>	one hundred rands	2	Eng. <i>clipper</i> ¹⁶
<i>amapaniki</i>	bottle caps	1	possibly from Eng. <i>pannikin</i>
<i>ipondo</i>	two rand coin	3	Eng. <i>pound</i> or Afr. <i>pond</i>

¹⁵Used as an insult in the phrase *kippie die kont* ‘kippie the cunt.’

¹⁶Workers in Johannesburg used to be paid in notes tied together with a paper clip.

<i>san</i>	son, boy	12	Eng. <i>son</i>
<i>sani</i>			
<i>as wena san</i>			
<i>as ye wena san</i>			
<i>sekoroko</i> ¹⁷	poor car	1	Eng. <i>crock</i>
<i>shama</i>	gun, pistol	1	
<i>isheleni</i>	ten cents	2	Eng. <i>shilling</i>
<i>ishumi</i>	one rand coin	2	SZ <i>-shumi</i> ‘ten’ ¹⁸
<i>-sokol</i>	fool, idiot	1	possibly Afr. <i>sukkelaar</i> , a useless person, or Afr. <i>sukkel</i> ‘to struggle’
<i>spam</i>	gun	1	SZ <i>isibhamu</i> , from onomatopoeia
<i>itaiger</i>	ten rand note	2	SAEng. Slang <i>tiger</i> ¹⁹
<i>trhak</i>	song, track	1	Eng. ‘track’
<i>tshomi</i>	friend, mate, guy	6	Eng. <i>chum</i> or Afr. <i>tjommie</i>
<i>amatshomi</i>			
<i>itsheri</i>	girl	8	originally French <i>chérie</i> ‘darling,’ then English <i>cherry</i>
<i>utsheri</i>			
<i>abotsheri</i>			
<i>intwana</i>	boy, friend, mate	10	SZ <i>umntwana</i> ‘child’ or ‘prince’
<i>ivati</i>	thing	2	Afr. <i>wat</i> ‘what’ ²⁰
<i>-vobe</i>	fool, idiot	1	
<i>iwundra</i>	hundred rand note	1	Eng. <i>hundred</i>
<i>-mzalas’</i>	guy, friend, mate	3	SZ <i>umzala</i> ‘cousin’
<i>batzalas’</i>			
<i>batzalatzalas’</i>			
<i>amazenke</i>	chips, packet of chips	4	

Nouns that appear with no prefix were used only as vocatives, hence their noun class remaining unclear. Regarding *daideng*, the word appears sometimes as a bare form preserving its original Afrikaans pronunciation, and sometimes as a noun with a Zulu class prefix, the pronunciation of which may change at the end, with *-ing* becoming *-eng*. In the first case, it would be considered in the MLF model as a language island. In the second case, it is a common borrowing. This example shows that switching and borrowing may well co-exist as stable practices regarding the same word, in the same community.

A number of nouns can appear in different classes. In most cases, it is a variation from class 1 to 9, and from class 2 to 6 (see *ukgata*, or *uclever*). This is a usual pattern in Zulu, and it is normally derogatory when used to refer to people. Finally, the word *amajent(s)* may retain the English plural

¹⁷ Appeared only in a Sotho form.

¹⁸ When the pound was replaced by the rand in South Africa, ten shillings became one rand.

¹⁹ In dated SA Eng. slang, *tiger* was used for a leopard. But the leopard appears on the 200 Rand note. Before the Rand, notes in Pound featured lions, particularly the one and ten Pound notes. It is not clear if the lion depicted as a symbol of British monarchy was ever referred to as *tiger*.

²⁰ Similar to the use of English *what* in *iwhatwhat* ‘the thing,’ a common term in South Africa.

morpheme. I have never heard this word being used in a singular form.

2.2 Verbs

Term	Translation	Occurrences	Origin
<i>baya</i>	buy	1	Eng. <i>buy</i>
<i>bayisa</i>	sell	2	Eng <i>buy</i> + causative
<i>belela</i>	call	1	Afr. <i>bel</i> ‘call on the phone’ + applicative
<i>bloma</i>	chill	4	Afr. <i>blom</i> ‘flower’
<i>bora</i>	be boring, annoying	5	Eng. <i>bore</i>
<i>canyiwa</i> <i>ncanywa</i>	want, desire	1	
<i>cwalaka</i>	boast, show off	1	
<i>doba</i>	give	1	
<i>doya</i>	lose	1	
<i>dzwaya</i> <i>tswaya</i>	go	7	Isc. <i>vaya</i> ‘go’, N.Sotho <i>tswaya</i> ‘go out’
<i>gumula</i>	remember	3	SZ ‘hang, impale’
<i>gwara</i>	tease	1	
<i>jaiva</i> <i>java</i>	dance	6	Eng. <i>jive</i>
<i>khinya</i>	be boring, be annoying	1	poss. <i>ishlonipho</i> ²¹ ‘grind’
<i>lakga</i>	laugh	1	Afr. <i>lag</i>
<i>kwatisa</i>	make one angry	1	Afr. <i>kwaad</i> ‘angry’ + causative
<i>jwayela</i>	cause trouble, ‘give shit’	1	
<i>lahla</i>	watch, pay attention	1	possibly from the idiom <i>lahla amehlo</i> ‘throw the eyes,’ i.e. ‘glance at’
<i>ncamila</i>	urinate	1	
<i>qwala</i> <i>cwala</i>	feel	1	
<i>rana</i>	run, be in a rush, be very fast	1	Eng. <i>run</i>
<i>tshika</i>	shout at, reprehend	2	Eng. <i>cheek</i>
<i>tshekha</i> <i>tsheka</i>	check, look at	2	Eng. <i>check</i>
<i>tshesha</i>	be fast, make haste, rush	1	SZ <i>shesha</i>
<i>tshuna</i>	do	2	Eng. <i>tune</i>
<i>vaya</i> on	go	9	Afr. <i>waai</i> ‘wave goodbye’ or Afr. Slang ‘be one’s way’
<i>xava</i> <i>cava</i>	see	14	
<i>xhazekile</i>	be happy, rejoice	1	
<i>zwinkila</i>	come	1	
<i>zwakala</i>	come	3	

²¹ *Isihlonipho sabafazi* ‘women’s language of respect’ was a particular register used in traditional Nguni cultures, relying on a different lexicon corpus. See Finlayson 1984, 2002.

The verb *-vaya* would be identified as Iscamtho by most observers and speakers. However, it has become very common, so much so that it is used by corporates (see the case of *Rea Vaya*, page 83). But in everyday use, although it is heard often everywhere, it is not used by all speakers nor is it accepted by all addressees. It has kept a certain stylistic value. Another Iscamtho verb *-draya* ‘turn/spin around,’ probably from Afrikaans *draai* ‘to turn,’ possibly from the English *dryer*, was uttered by an adult male addressing a young girl at the shop.

2.3 Adjectives

Term	Translation	Occurrences	Origin
<i>-gran</i> <i>-grand</i>	good, well	2	Eng. <i>grand</i>
<i>-ntswembu</i>	nice, beautiful	2	

2.4 Others: Adverbs and Interrogatives

Term	Translation	Occurrences	Origin
<i>-va</i>	where	4	Afr. <i>waar</i> . Used as adverbial suffix replacing Zulu <i>-phi</i>
<i>peke</i> ²²	back	3	Eng. <i>back</i>
<i>hi</i> <i>yih</i>	here	7	Afr. <i>hier</i>

2.5 Particular Words from Iscamtho with a New Social Status

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, some words originate in Iscamtho or Tsotsitaal, but have acquired a new value in South African urban speech. That is, they have become very widespread, and have become neutral in several languages, sometimes in several parts of the country, while other terms remained restricted in use. A first example is *sharp* ‘good, alright, ready’ (pronounced *shap*, with a longer vowel, according to Black South African English pronunciation) from the English slang *sharp*. This word may be used in two different fashions, with several meanings. The first way is in the form of an adjective, as in *ngisharp* or *ngisharpsharp* ‘I am good.’ Used as such, the word means ‘good, alright, satisfying.’ But *sharp* may also be used as an

²²Used only in a Sotho sentence.

adverb. In that case, it may translate at times as ‘hello,’ ‘yes,’ ‘thanks,’ or ‘bye.’ *Sharp* is nowadays used by most speakers of African languages in urban settings. It is not marked as slang anymore. In Johannesburg and its surrounding, it is part of the neutral repertoire of all speakers of Zulu and Sotho.

The next word is *thaima*, derived from English ‘old timer.’ This noun is attested in early versions of Tsotsitaal in the 1940s (see Molamu 2003:105, in the form *timer*) and it has been part of the urban repertoire of Soweto for at least six decades. In terms of its sociolinguistic connotations, the word is neutral and proper. It is equivalent (in meaning and status) in Soweto to the Zulu noun *mkhulu*, used to refer to older men with respect. Both nouns imply respect by stressing the age of the addressee. Due to its sociolinguistic status, *thaima* will be considered to be correct Zulu rather than Iscamtho by speakers. However it comes from Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho.

Another category of words showing clear influence from Iscamtho, are certain nicknames, which are coined by adding the prefix *ma-* to the name, and possibly the suffix *-si*²³. Although *ma-* exists in Zulu, to mark respect before a name, its use here is different. In Iscamtho, the two affixes mark respect, endearment or identification with the addressee. Two examples appeared in the data:

Term	Occurrences
MaVesta	3
MaNtombisi	4

Such nicknames are used by most people in Black urban centres in South Africa, and at times they may be used by people who do not ever use Iscamtho. As such, they do not strictly belong to slang. Rather, they show that some aspects of the old Iscamtho style have penetrated the local cultural and linguistic practices to a deep level. These nicknames constitute main instances of stylisation used by girls under five years of age. The girl carrying the recorder in recording 3, in particular, is most often referred to in this way by her father and her younger sister.

Finally, another important category of Iscamtho-born items are most terms used to describe the local currency: *i-five bop*, *itay’ger*, *isheleni*, *ipondo*, *iklipa*, *iwundra* (the noun *dah*, as in *i-fifty dah*, has kept its slang value entirely). These terms are of long-standing in urban varieties in Johannesburg. They are attributed to Tsotsitaal, but could be older. In fact, they most obviously

²³Derek Gowlett signalled that the prefix *-si* or *-se* is derived from Khoi *-s*, and is originally a feminine suffix. But in Standard Zulu, it can be used sometimes in the formation of (semantically) masculine names.

come from British English slang (*bob*), from South African English slang (*tiger*, *clipper*), or from Standard English (*shilling*, *pound*, *hundred*), which leads to the hypothesis that they would have been taken from British workers at the early stages of the industrialisation of Johannesburg from the 1880s – or even possibly before, in places like Kimberley.

Iscamtho words to describe currency are not exactly neutral in Soweto, where a form involving an English borrowing, for instance *i-fifty rands*, would be unmarked; such words are marked but not forbidden in any setting. At times, they may be used by almost anyone (to the exception of a few older ladies, and very few conservative speakers), especially *klipa*, *pondo* or *shumi*. These words in a way belong to the tsotsi style and Iscamtho slang, and they were counted as such in the statistics. However, over time they have been changing status, and may be becoming common words in the local variety. At the purely local level in White City, they have lost their slang value for most people, and they are used in exchanges in shops. They are favoured even by children addressing adults or elderlies.

3. Analysis of Conversation Excerpts

This section is meant to present the language of White City children as well as their use of Iscamtho *in situ*, and to provide an analysis of the latter at the conversation level, in order to test the position of Iscamtho between local registers, style and slang. Extracts from the data were selected to reflect: how language is used by children of all age-gender groups; how language is used by parents and other adults in interactions with the children; how the children use Iscamtho, in terms of its display, and in terms of its expression of low register, style or slang; how they use multilingual material, and more especially how multilingual speech articulates with Iscamtho.

Regarding both the mixed variety and Iscamtho, I mean to test the assertion that CS or language-mix are mostly used as “a meaningful semiotic resource” (Auer 1995:131, see page 37). Two possible perspectives may apply to the children’s speech: either multilingual and Iscamtho material are used with a meaningful purpose, i.e. semiotic or semantic; or they are used as the natural vector of speech, at least in a given context, and semiotic or semantic variation is realised on the basis of this vector. These two perspectives are not mutually exclusive.

Consistent with the coding methodology, I consider the use of Iscamtho material as a form of inclusion of linguistic material that is not in essence different from multilingual insertion. It is the use of specific material either spontaneously with the use of a particular register, or out of stylistic and deliberate intention.

Regarding Iscamtho, I have stressed in the previous section that although most of its material still belongs to the local slang register, some of it has been integrated into a proper register. I have retained for this section the narrow definition of Iscamtho proposed in the introduction of this chapter, including words with a changing status, but excluding words that are not considered slang any more.

The excerpts studied for the conversation analysis displayed below, will help assess the extent of each dimension of both the local variety and Iscamtho, and their sociolinguistic value as proper local register, style or slang. I present each case successively, with a short description of the context of the extract. Each case is analysed to stress the relevant aspect of language among White City children that it epitomises. As the use of multilingual material and Iscamtho may not always be separate, I have not separated their analysis into sections. In the excerpt below, the boy has just entered his house, in order for his brother to fit the recording set on his clothes. The excerpt reflects a moment of parenting from both the mother and the older brother.

Extract 1: Mother (Early 40s, M), Older Brother (21, OB), Boy (7, B) – in the house

1. M: Mm sul' iz-andla
WIPE C8-HAND
Wipe your hands
2. M: La-phaya ka-bo-Sello, Kagiso, n-enz-a-ni
DEM-POS.16 POS-C2B-NAME NAME 2PL-DO-FV-WHAT
There at Sello's place, Kagiso, what are you (pl.) doing?
3. B: Si-ya -dlal-a
1PL-PRES.DISJUNC-PLAY-FV
We are playing?
4. M: Ni-dlal-a-ni? Ni-dlal-a um-dlalo o-th -e-ni?
2PL-PLAY-FV-WHAT 2PL-PLAY-VF C3-GAME REL.3-SAY-ANT.FV-WHAT
What are you playing? What kind of game are you playing?
5. M: U-Sello yena aka-col-i
C1A-NAME C1.ABS C1.NEG-GET DIRTY-NEG.FV
ka-so, wena kanjani? *Why?*
ADV-THIS WAY 2s.ABS HOW WHY
Sello doesn't get dirty like this, you how (are you)? Why?
6. M: Ma nga-m-biz-a u-Sello manje yena u-skoon
CONJ 1s -C1-CALL-FV C1-NAME NOW C1.ABS C1-CLEAN
If I call Sello now he is clean

7. OB: Wena wayi u-col-a ka-so?
 2S.ABS WHY 2S-GET DIRTY-FV ADV-THIS WAY
 se -yi -on le-nto leyo?
 AUX-COP-ON DEM.9-THING DEM.9
Why are you getting dirty like this? Is that thing on?

Excerpt 1 reveals the value of the two most obvious transfers from English to Zulu which have stabilised in White City (and from my experience, in the larger Soweto, possibly all around Johannesburg). The last sentence in line 7 refers to the recorder.

The first point is the case of *why* (5), which also appears in the excerpt in a phonologically Zulu-integrated form *wayi* (7). The second form is marked by two traits: a lengthening of the first syllable of the word, according to Zulu prosody, which requires the penultimate syllable to be long; and an added vowel *-i* at the end of the word, which clearly sounds, and separates the question word from the next verbal phrase. The word appears in positions where one could expect the Zulu *yini*. The excerpt demonstrates that this term is deeply rooted in local sociolinguistic practices, as it is used by both the mother and the older brother, addressing the young boy, in a moment of private family life.

The second term is *so*, used here twice with the Zulu adverbial formative *ka-*. It was pointed out in Chapter 5 as meaning ‘this way’ or ‘like this.’ This excerpt illustrates again how deeply the term is rooted in local practices.

This excerpt also features two other multilingual borrowings. The case of the Afrikaans adjective *skoon* (6) has been mentioned in Chapter 5, but at the conversation level, it is striking to see how it appears in this private setting. The English adverb *on* (7) is here used as an adjective, in a construction involving a demonstrative and a copula. The English construction *it is on* constitutes a possible source of the interpretation of *on* as adjective. One will remark that the structure is identical to, for instance, *it is green* with the use of an adjective. Finally, the excerpt features a non-standard form in *ma ngambiza* (6), which should appear as *ma ngimbiza*. The non-standard form seems widespread in White City, and my assistant was not aware that it was non-standard.

In this conversation, no particular motive seems to explain the use of English and Afrikaans. On the contrary, all foreign material appears to be used as a natural part of the family’s language. The situation is slightly formal, as the boy is being gently disciplined by his mother. And yet formality is not expressed in any formal Zulu, but in the local variety. As such, not only is it demonstrated that this variety has integrated English and Afrikaans as native elements, used from parents to children in

private settings, but also that these terms do not relate to any particular style. This supports the definition of the local variety as a native mixed variety.

The extract below features a group conversation between peers. The discussion starts with a form of gossiping about other boys in the street, and then switches to the topic of a car parked nearby, when a police car appears and parks in front of a house.

Extract 2: All utterances by boys from the seven-to-nine age group in a group conversation – on the street.

1. U-ngaka, baba.
C1-SO BIG DSC.MRK
He is so big, man
2. U-shoti, u -lingan-a no -Msi.
C1-SHORT C1-EQUAL-FV CONJ-NAME
He is short, he is the same size as Msi
3. U-Msi u-s'-dudla ntwana.
C1-NAME C1-C7-FAT DSC.MRK
Msi is fat my friend
4. Ma-wu-m-kul-a yo, u-ya -sind -a loya.
CONJ-2s-C1-LIFT-FV DSC.MRK C1-PRES.DISJUNC-BE HEAVY-FV C1.POSIT
When you lift him wow, he is heavy this one
5. No-Jeso.
CONJ-NAME
Jeso as well
6. Aku-na-m-zwinki e-phak-ini.
NEG.C17-CONJ-C3-SWING LOC-PARK-LOC
There is no swing at the park
7. Hayi i-phaka ye-thu yo-ku-hlal-a.
NEG C9-PARK C9-1PL.POSS C9.POSS-INF-STAY-FV
But the park is ours to stay at
8. yoo i-tayera eli -ncane
DSC.MRK C5-TYRE ADJ.5-SMALL
It's a small wheel
9. U-ya-xav-a ukuthi li-ncane kanjani?
2s-PRES.DISJUNC-SEE-FV CONJ C5-SMALL HOW
Do you see how small it is?

10. Ngi-yo-thath-a ama-nye **ama-zenke**.
 1S-FUT-TAKE-FV ADJ.6-OTHER C6-CHIPS
I am going to take some more chips.
11. Hey police!
(pointing at a police car stopping by a house)
12. Wo ba-cabang-a ukuthi u-hlal-a la.
 DSC.MRK C2-THINK-FV CONJ 2S-STAY-FV DEM
Wow they think that you stay here.

Extract 2 is a good illustration of the informal language used by boys in the peer group. It contains English borrowings as well as Iscamtho. Only the adjective *-shoti* (2) may reflect a choice from the boy, while the other English terms (*umzwinki* (6), *itayera* (8)) are norms of the local variety. The word *-tayera* is used in Soweto to refer to the tyre as well as the wheel, and most people never distinguish the two.

The Iscamtho terms used here are some of the most common in the recordings. The noun *intwana* (3) is used as a discourse marker. It is common when stressing a bond between peers. The verb *-xava* (9) is also very common, and it does not reflect an in-group style, but rather a local low register, favoured especially among males of all ages. The noun *amazenke* (10) is common among all generations, but it is informal. The way it is used at the shop will be illustrated in a subsequent excerpt.

Extract 2 shows how Iscamtho is used in an informal setting about informal topics, including gossiping, using common words of this local low register. The conversation reflects an informal tone, and the equal relationship between peers is stressed by the use of nouns as addresses and discourse markers (*baba* (1), *ntwana* (3)). Other discourse markers and exclamations stress the informality of the conversation (*yo* (4; 7), *hey* (11), *wo* (12)). *Yo* is also used emphatically (8). The use of the negative marker *hayi* (7), common in Nguni, conforms to local use, as a discourse marker stressing negation, opposition or contradiction.

In this extract, Iscamtho is used as slang. It is not a group style, but rather the norm of the group in terms of local variety register, which is not different from the local social norm for this low register. The level of language and the slang words used give me, as a close observer, a very familiar feeling, as I compare it to the use of the French argot I spoke in my childhood. It is informal and deliberately lower than the common register; this is because the boys are among themselves, with no supervision. In this instance, they are free to mark their friendship, their local common identity, or

their masculinity, with the use of slang. The use of Iscamtho does not appear to be particularly conscious or motivated by stylistic purposes. Hence, I consider Extract 2 to illustrate Iscamtho as a common slang register in the peer group, reflecting a stable low register among friends, rather than a deliberate variation reflecting stylistic choice, and motivated by any purpose beyond respecting the norm of the peer group.

Extract 3: All utterances by boys in the seven-to-nine age group in a group conversation – in the street

1. U-bamb-e lana-ke.
2s-HOLD-SUBJ.FV CL6.DEM-DSC.MRK
Just hold this

2. Kgantsho u-ya-khon-a uku-shov-a?
NAME 2S-PRES.DISJUNC-BE ABLE-FV INF-RIDE A BIKE-FV
Kgantsho do you know how to ride the bike?

3. Ya ngi-ya-khon-a.
YES 1s-PRES.DISJUNC-CAN-FV
Yeah I can

4. li-ndunu ezi-nga-jamp-i.
CL10-BOTTOM REL.10- NEG -JUMP-NEG.FV
Your arses that can't jump

5. Yo i-ndunu i-ya-jamp-a ntwana.
DSC.MRK C9-BOTTOM C9-PRST.DISJUNC-JUMP-FV DSC.MRK
Wow my arse is jumping my friend

6. Haaa wena u-w-enz-a ka-bi mele u-w-enz-e so.
EXCL. 2S.ABS 2S-2S-DO -FV ADV-BAD CONJ 2 S-2S-DO-SUBJ.FV THIS WAY
Ha you are doing wrong, you must do like this

7. I-ndunu ma-wu-jamp-a u-nga-thint-i la.
C9-BOTTOM CONJ-2S-JUMP-FV 2S-NEG-TOUCH-NEG.FV DEM
When you arse jumps don't touch here

8. Ma-wu-thint-a, u-luz-ile!
CONJ-2S-TOUCH-FV 2S-LOSE-ANT.FV
when you touch, you've lost

9. Ok ray't... (with a tone of derision)
Yeah alright...

Extract 3 was chosen for its embodiment of informal peer conversation and Iscamtho as slang, but also because it contains Iscamtho, English borrowings and Sotho borrowings. It also features a non-standard Zulu form typical of Soweto (*mele* (6)).

Regarding the Iscamtho utterance (*ntwana* (5)), it is again an address and a discourse marker that reflects the peer group's low register, with no specific style in particular. It is not different in use and sociolinguistic meaning as in Extract 2. The verb *-khona* (2; 3) does not exist in Standard Zulu (although it incidentally has the same form as the adverb *khona* 'here'). It is a borrowing from Southern Sotho *kgona*, and Northern Sotho or Tswana *gona*, meaning 'be able to.' In Zulu, the idea of ability would be expressed by a phrase such as *-azi uku-* 'know (how) to' or *namandla uku-* 'with power to.' The use of this verb is not noticeably motivated in the interaction; rather, it appears many times in the data, from different speakers. This reveals that the term is a stable borrowing in local Zulu, thereby filling a gap in that language.

Regarding the English borrowings, several explanations are possible. The verb *-jampa* 'jump' (4; 5; 7) is difficult to translate in Standard Zulu. It has several equivalents in Zulu, with fine semantic differences that do not necessarily reflect the different semantic values of the verb in English. The two closest to the meaning expressed here that I have been able to identify would be the verbs *-gabadela* 'jump up and down' and *-eqiswa* 'be made to jump.' Hence I would assume that the use of the English borrowing is justified by its meaning, referring to the jumpy sensations one experiences in a minibus taxi.

The case of *so* (6) has been explained above, and is not different here. The use of the borrowed verb *-luza* 'to lose' may be explained by its meaning, as it metaphorically refers to losing at a game. The phrase *OK ray't* is made out of two discourse markers very commonly used in White City. A striking non-standard feature is also observable in the verbal phrases *uwenza* and *uwenze* (6). The verb root is *-enza*, and when combined with a 2nd person singular prefix, it becomes *wenza*, with a phonologic change on the prefix, from *u-* to *w-*. Hence by saying *uwenza*, the boy marks the prefix twice. It is surprising to find this form, as the word is a common verb that the boy knows well.

The use of the word *mele* has been described in Chapter 5. The sentence should appear as *umelwe uwenze so*. But in White City, this word is used as what I identified as a conjunctive and it appears in a bare form. It is always used separately and with no subject. Hence the fact that it reflects a change in Zulu, which I have observed in several places around Soweto, although I would not know how widespread this form is around Johannesburg.

Extract 4 (below) is an excerpt from a role-playing session in the street, after the father of the young boy carrying the recorder asked the group of boys to speak 'seTsotsi.' This excerpt

constitutes as such a deliberate display and performance. The style performed, however, is not the common ‘cool’ Iscamtho slang of the location. Rather, it is the gangster style as the children imagine it.

Extract 4: Teenage Boy (11), Older boy (7), Younger Boy (5)

1. YB: Ngi-zo-ku-shay-a nge-shama
1S -FUT-2S-SHOOT-FV INSTR-GUN
I will shoot you with a gun
2. TB: Ku-le-nto le ngi-zo-ku-shiy-el-a
LOC-DEM.C9-THING DEM.C9 1S-FUT-2S-LEAVE-APPL-FV
i-sweeteat ya-kho
C9-SWEETEAT C9.POSS-PRON.2S
I will leave you your sweeteat (the name of kind of sweet snack)
3. OB: U-ne-mali-ni?
2S-CONJ-MONEY-WHAT
How much money do you have?
4. TB: U-kgata izolo ngi-m-shay-e so,
C1-COP ADV 1S-C1-HIT-ANT.FV THIS WAY
u-y-az-i si-khona is'-bhamu esi-ngaka e-mhlab-eni?
2S-C9-KNOW-FV C7-ADV C7-GUN REL.7-SO BIG LOC-WORLD-LOC
A cop yesterday I hit him like this, do you know there is such a big gun in the world?
5. YB: Mina ngi-ke nga-si-bamb-a is-bhamu
1S.ABS 1S-AUX 1S.PAST -C7-HOLD-FV C7-GUN
I once held a gun
6. OB: Mina ma ngi-nga-si-bamb-a nga-dla phansi
1S.ABS CONJ 1S-AUX-C7-HOLD-FV 1S.PAS-EAT ON THE GROUND
If I can hold it I will run away²⁴
7. TB: U-nga -balek-a
2S-AUX-RUN AWAY-FV
You can run away
8. YB: Mina ngi-ke nga-bamb-a is'-bhamu sa-mampela
1S.ABS 1S-AUX 1S.PAS-HOLD-FV C7-GUN C7-REAL
Me I once held a real gun
9. YB: Phuma-ni ku -le-moto... bha!
GET OUT-PLR LOC-DEM.C9-CAR ONOM.

²⁴ The idiomatic meaning is non-standard, its origin is unknown.

Get out of this car... bha! (sound of gunshot)

10. TB: Awu-ne-licence
NEG.2s-CONJ-LICENCE
You don't have a licence

11. YB: Vele, angi-na yo ... i-licence
DSC.MRK NEG.1s-CONJ EXCL. C9-LICENCE
Sure, I don't have hu... a licence

12. OB: Ku-b -e u-ya-yi-hlab-a
C17-AUX-SUBJ.FV 2s-PRES.DISJUNC-C9-STEAL-FV
You should steal it

13. TB: U -ya-khumbul -a si-yo-bay-' ama-khota no-Lebo.
2s-PRES.DISJUNC-REMEMBER-FV 1PL-FUT-BUY-FV C6-KHOTA CONJ-NAME
Li -thi le-kgata u-ya-si-fun-a isi-bhamu
C5-SAY DEM.C5-COP 2s-PRES.DISJUNC-C7-WANT-FV C7-GUN
ng-a-th-i angi-si-fun-i l-a-si-bek-a phezulu
1s-PAST.SUBJ-SAY-FV NEG.1s-C7-WANT-NEG.FV C5-PAST.SUBJ-C7-PLACE-FV ADV
e-taful-eni ka-Makhenzi
LOC-TABLE-LOC POS-NAME
*You remember when we went to buy kotas (a local kind of hot sandwich) with Lebo.
This cop says 'do you want a gun.' I say I don't want it, then he places it on the table at
MacKenzie's.*

14. OB: Qwala ngo-clever e-s'-kal-eni, ye wena clever
FEEL INSTR-CLEVER LOC-C7-PLACE-LOC EXCL 2s.ABS CLEVER
awu-shay-i is-khamaround
NEG.2s-HIT -NEG.FV C7-SPIN AROUND
Feel the clever (slick guy) in this place, you man don't go round and round

The first noticeable aspect, compared to previous extracts, is that very few borrowings are used in this long excerpt: only *three*, *so* (4) and *licence* (10; 11) from English (not counting the Iscamtho items originating from English). And one of these, *so*, is an integral part of the local variety, which is used here with a meaning that is not English (see Chapter 7). The conversation is strikingly close to monolingual Zulu, when compared with the description of local Zulu given in Chapter 5. The form *awunellicence* (10) is non-standard and it should appear as *awunallicence*, as no vowel coalescence occurs in the negative form. Also, the demonstrative on *le-kgata* (13) is non-standard and should appear as *leli-kgata*.

Furthermore, the excerpt features a low density of Iscamtho terms overall, but a much higher density in the teenager's speech. Also, only one sentence includes discourse markers, and these are addresses (*clever* (14)).

The term *vele* (11) requires an explanation: in Standard Zulu, the deficient verb *-vele* is always used with a subject prefix and marks premeditation or anticipation, rather than an imperative need. In Soweto it might translate as ‘it is a must’ to express an obligation due to a need, or it is used as an adverb and discourse marker meaning ‘obviously’ or ‘clearly.’

Extract 4 reflects a clear stylistic performance in the topic and the words chosen. The longest utterances, which also contain mostly Iscamtho, are all produced by a young teenager, and they were not taken into account in the statistical analysis. The two older boys were trying to impress the younger one, and hence they are performing a rough style. It is clear in these longer utterances that Iscamtho, when tied to style, is used in monolingual speech. The extract also gives a good example of Iscamtho transmission from a teenager and an older boy, to a much younger boy. Extract 5 (below) comes from the same group interaction as Extract 4. It also reflects the display of gangster style, but this time through the use of lexicon from South African prison slang.

Extract 5: Teenage Boy (11), Older boy (7), Younger Boy (5)

1. TB: Heh mele u-phath-e i-nombolo i-suk-ile
EXCL AUX.SUBJ 2s-CARRY-SUBJ.FV C9-NUMBER C9-START OFF-ANT.FV
i-nombolo manje
C9-NUMBER NOW
You should carry a number, the law of number is on now
2. OB: U-ne-nombolo wena?
2s-CONJ-NUMBER 2s.ABS
Do you have a number you?
3. TB: Hey, mina ngi-ne-nombolo
EXCL. 1s.ABS 1s-CONJ-NUMBER
Hey, I have a number
4. OB: I-ku-phi manje?
C9-LOC-WHERE NOW
Where is it now?
5. TB: Nayi la, la e-nyaw-eni
LOC.DEM.COP.5 DEM DEM LOC-LEG -LOC
Here it is, here, here on the leg
6. OB: U-ya-yaz-i yi-n' i-nombolo vobe. U-yaz-'
2s-PRST.DISJUNC-KNOW-FV COP-WHAT C9-NUMBER FOOL 2s-KNOW-FV
i-nombolo yi-ni? u-seven.
C9-NUMBER COP-WHAT C1-SEVEN
Do you know what's the law of the number, fool? Do you know what the law of the

number is? It is seven.

7. OB: U-ya-bon-a u-seven ma-wu-phet -e i-nombolo
 2S-PRES.DISJUNC-SEE-FV C1-SEVEN CONJ-2S -CARRY-PST.FV C9-NUMBER

 u-ya-dubul-a, u-dubul-a laba-lungu
 2S-PRES.DISJUNC-SHOOT-FV 2S-SHOOT-FV DEM.C2-WHITE PERSON
 laba -dubul-a lama-phoyisa. Asi-yo-rob-' i-benk manje.
 DEM.C2-SHOOT-FV DEM.C6-POLICE 1PL.HORT-ITIVE-ROB-SUBJ.FV C9-BANK NOW
You see seven if you have the law you shoot. You shoot these whites and you shoot the police. Let's go and rob a bank now.
8. YB: Asi-rob-e i-benk la!
 HORT.1PL-ROB-SUBJ.FV C9-BANK DEM
Let's go rob a bank here
9. OB: As -amb-e, as-amb-e
 HORT.1PL-GO -SUBJ.FV HORT.1PL-GO-SUBJ.FV
Let's go, let's go
10. YB: Fik-ile, zi-fik-ile izi-nja and entlek manje
 ARRIVE-ANT.FV C10-ARRIVE-ANT.FV C10-DOG AND DSC.MRK NOW
 i-suk-ile i-nombolo. Biza labo-sathane laba.
 C9-START OFF-ANT.FV C9-NUMBER CALL.IMP DEM.C2-SATAN DEM.C2
Arrived, the dogs have arrived and obviously now the law of the number is on. Call those Satans those ones.
11. TB: Mele si-yo-rob-a i-benk manje
 AUX.SUBJ 1PL-ITIVE-ROB-FV C9-BANK NOW
We have to go rob a bank now
12. YB: Asi-dlal-e ama-dais
 HORT.1PL-PLAY-IMP C6-DIE
Let's play dice

In the extract above, the words originating in prison slang are *inombolo* and *useven*, which must not be taken in their common meaning in local Zulu. In Zulu, *inombolo* means a number, or figure. *Seven* is obviously one these numbers. But in Prison Slang, *inombolo* refers to the law of the gang, as South African prison gangs are known as the ‘number gangs,’ and are referred to as the 26, the 27, the 28, or the Big 5 gangs (for an overview of prison gangs, see Lewis 2006). Hence *nombolo* refers to the rules of the gang culture, what is referred to above as ‘the law of the number.’ The figure *seven* in prison gang culture is the symbol for blood, and it is used as a metaphor for murder. Hence, “*seven*, if you have the law, you shoot.” A still popular Iscamtho greeting, *Hola-seven*, also originates in prison slang, in which it was a threat of death.

Extract 5 is interesting for this study in many respects. First, the sentences containing Prison

Slang and Iscamtho are mostly monolingual. English is used in content words (*rob, bank* (7; 8; 11)) relating to the topic of crime, and in a conjunction or discourse marker (*and* (10)). Iscamtho appears, but only directly with Prison Slang as an address and discourse marker (*vobe* (6)) which constitutes one of the only three derogative Iscamtho terms observed in the data.

Secondly, the youngest boy uses Iscamtho to emulate the older ones, but only after they introduced the words first. Hence the extract demonstrates that young boys learn to use Iscamtho with older ones, with a view to competing with them among other reasons.

Thirdly, the contextual aspect is interesting. The interaction stresses that White City children and young teenagers, when asked to speak ‘tsotsi,’ do not turn to the local Iscamtho style. Instead, they relate the term ‘tsotsi’ to hard core criminal culture. The fact that the father of the boy carrying the recorder can speak Prison Slang, and that he uses it very occasionally with other adult males in his neighbourhood, may help explain why the younger boy knows about this gang culture. But an analysis of the above extract shows that the older boys are introducing the terms and the topic, and hence the extract is also an example of transmission of the gangster style from the older boys to the younger one.

The understanding of the term ‘tsotsi’ displayed here, and the particular criminal ideology which the children relate this term to, stress that if names such as Tsotsitaal or Iscamtho are relevant, the terminology describing these phenomena varies greatly. The ‘cool’ slang displayed in Extracts 2 and 3 would not be referred to as ‘tsotsi’ by the boys recorded in Extract 5, whilst it is comparable to the urban style of Cape Town that was referred to by Hurst (2008) as Tsotsitaal (see Chapter 2 Section 3).

Extract 6: All utterances from girls from the seven-to-nine age group – on the street

1. Ba-thi ma si-khulum-a mele si-khulum-e isi-Tsotsi
3PL-SAY CONJ 1PL-SPEAK-FV CONJ 1PL-SPEAK-SUBJ.FV C7-TSOTSI
They say when we speak, we must speak
2. Yi-ni?
COP-WHAT
What is it?
3. Ba-th -i si-khulum-e is’-Tsotsi. He mfethu asi-vay-e-ni
3PL-SAY-FV 1PL-SPEAK-SUBJ.FV C7-TSOTSI EXCL. MATE HORT.1PL-GO-SUBJ.FV-PL
They say we must speak tsotsi. Hey bro let's go
4. **Zwakala yih**
COME.IMP ADV

Come here

5. Ngi-ye-z-a mfethu
1S-PRES.DISJUNC-COME-FV MATE
I'm coming bro
6. **Zwakala yih**
COME.IMP ADV
Come here
7. Ngi-ye-z-a, wat gaan aan, mfethu?
1S-PRES.DISJUNC-COME-FV WHAT GOES ON MATE
Awu-ngi-gay-e i-dzendi
HORT.2S-1S-GIVE-IMP C9-SWEET
I'm coming, what's going on, bro? Give me a sweet
8. **Asi-vay-e si-yo-bay-a ama-dzendi**
HORT.1PL-GO -IMP.FV 1PL-ITIVE-BUY-FV C6-SWEET
Let's go and buy sweets
9. **Ngi-ne-pondo**
1S-CONJ-POUND
I have two rands
10. **Ngi-ne-shumi**
1S-CONJ-ONE RAND
I have one rand
11. Ha mfethu tokh-a tokh-a
EXCL. MATE TALK-FV TALK-FV
Ha bro talk talk!
12. **Asi-dzway-e-ni si-yo-kh-a ama-pentshisi**
HORT.1PL-GO-SUBJ.FV-PL 1PL-ITIVE-PICK-FV C6-PEACH
Lets us go and pick peaches
13. U-nga-zo-si-jwayel-a, u-nga -yi-tshun-i **daiding**
2S-NEG-VENIT-1PL-CAUSE TROUBLE-FV 2S-NEG-C9-DO-NEG.FV THAT THING
Don't come and give us shit, don't do that thing
14. **Asi-dway-e-ni si-yo-kh-a ama-pentshisi**
HORT.1PL-GO -SUBJ.FV-PL 1PL-ITIVE-PICK-FV C6-PEACH
Let's go and pick peaches
15. **As'-dzway-e-ni, si-ya-tzway-a nou-nou,**
HORT.1PL-GO-SUBJ.FV-PL 1PL-PRES.DISJUNC-GO-FV NOW NOW
As'-dzway-e-ni
HORT.1PL-GO-SUBJ.FV-PL
Let's go, we're going now-now, let's go

16. As'-**dsway**-e-ni si-yo-kh-a ka-Wontshiwontshi
 HORT.1PL-GO-SUBJ.FV-PL 1PL-ITIVE-PICK-FV C6.POSS-NICKNAME
Let's go pick from Wontshiwontshi
17. Ha mfethu u-y-enza-ni leyo-**vati**, u-yi-fak-e
 EXCL. MATE 2S-C9-DO -WHAT DEM.9-THING 2S-C9-PUT ON-SUBJ.FV
 ka-hle leyo-**vati**.
 ADV-GOOD DEM.9-THING
Ha bro what are you doing to that thing, put it on nicely that thing
18. Ngi-ne-**pondo**
 1S-CONJ-POUND
I have two rands
19. U-nga-yi-tshun-i **daiding**, awu-th-i ngi-buz-e abo-sisterh,
 2S-NEG-C9-DO -NEG.FV THAT THING HORT.2S-SAY-FV 1S -ASK -SUBJ.FV C2-SISTER
 he sesterh '-ya-wa-kh-a ama-pentshisi?
 EXCL. SISTER 2S-PRES.DISJUNC-C6-PICK-FV C6-PEACH
Don't do that, let me ask the sisters, hey sister are you picking peaches?
20. Ama-pentshisi
 C6-PEACH
Peaches
21. *We trying to get, yo* ama-pentshisi khona thina
 EXCL. C6-PEACH ADV 1PL.ABS
 aba-nye si-kgud-a i-gazi, si-zo-cam-a i-gazi
 ADJ.2-OTHER 1PL-SHIT-FV C5-BLOOD 1PL-FUT-PEE-FV C5-BLOOD
We're trying to get, yo peaches so that us we can shit blood, we will pee blood
21. Asi-**vay**-e-ni si-yo-fun -' abo-**tsheri**
 HORT.1PL-GO-SUBJ.FV-PL 1PL-FUT-WANT-FV C2B-GIRL
Let's go and look for girls
22. He mfethu mina ngi-ya-k'-**can'w-a**²⁵
 EXCL. MATE 1S.ABS 1S-PRES.DISJUNC-2S-WANT-FV
Hey bro I want you

Extract 6 features a long group interaction between girls aged seven to nine. The first utterances (1) stress that the girl carrying the recorder has just been instructed by her mother to speak 'isiTsotsi.' What follows is a performance and deliberate display of Iscamtho style, as conceived of by young females in White City – considering that what the girls display fits not only their definition of 'tsotsi,' but also that of the mother.

The excerpt is characterised by a high density of Iscamtho terms and the use of Afrikaans borrowings. Also, the audio recording reveals that the tone used during the entire excerpt is highly

²⁵ Ngi-ya-ku-canyw-a.

caricatured, as the girls put on loud deep voices to sound like men. For the style emulated here is what the girls know of the ‘urban male style’ conveyed by tsotsitaals as stylelects. It is about virility (“let’s go and look for girls” (21)), and the display of peer bonds (*mfethu* (3; 5; 7; 11; 17; 22)). But it is obvious also in the excerpts that few Iscamtho words are repeated several times, by one girl and then another. The verb *-dzwaya* ‘go’ takes four different forms (12; 14; 15; 16). Hence it seems that the girls can ‘put on the style,’ and keep it on for a while, but their knowledge of it is limited and it does not allow a great diversity of lexical items to be used. Also, in order to extend the performance, the girls used pure slang terms indistinctively with terms that have already penetrated the larger local society, such as currency terms (9; 10; 18).

Finally, one utterance (21) sounds particularly vulgar (...*sikguda igazi*...) and it is clearly displayed as part of the stylistic performance. Yet, in Section 1 I showed that Iscamtho is not particularly associated with vulgar speech in the children’s data, and that it seems to obey different sociolinguistic patterns. As I understand, the ideological and stylistic values attached by the girls to their display of Iscamtho include vulgarity, and as such, the girls’ perception and experience of Iscamtho can be said to be different from those of the boys, which are predominant in the data.

Extract 6 stresses clearly the difference between the use of Iscamtho slang by boys in Extracts 2 and 3, and the use of Iscamtho (caricatured) style by girls. In Extracts 2 and 3, the boys were focusing on their peer talk or gossiping, and Iscamtho was part of the usual register of the peer group. However, the girls’ extract does not represent a ‘natural’ use of Iscamtho as the girls were given instructions in this regard. It is rather a style that displays an idealised local male style performed for the recorder.

However, using Iscamtho as slang was also observed among girls, but in very limited quantity. It was not practical to propose an extract in this regard, as few words appear over very long conversations. A few examples can still be read in conversations between three seven-year-old girls, in transcript 6 (lines 105; 241; 304).

Extract 7: All utterances from girls aged seven – in the backroom

1. Ngi-zo-wa-chith-a lama-nzi
1s -FUT-C6-SPILL-FV DEM.C6-WATER
I will spill this water!
2. Thath-a i-waslap
TAKE.IMP C9-FACE CLOTH

Take the washing rag / face cloth

3. O ma -aka...
2S REL.6 -LIE
You are lying...

4. ' -th -i ngi-bon-e
C9-SAY-FV 1S-SEE-SUBJ.FV
Let me see

5. Hayi voetsek!
NEG.MRK IMP
No piss off!

6. End' u-phum-a i-gazi
CONJ 2S-GET OUT-FV C5-BLOOD
And you're leaking blood

7. O ma -aka...
2S REL.6-LIE
You are lying...

8. U-th-i voetsek e-record-ini, u-se-bhad -ini
2S-SAY-FV PISS OFF LOC-RECORDER-LOC 2S-LOC-BAD LUCK-LOC
You say piss off in the recorder, you're in trouble

9. Hayi u-se-bhad-ini
NEG.MRK 2S-LOC-BAD LUCK-LOC
No you're in trouble

10. Ba-yo-cal-a ba-buz-e u-baba ke ukuthi lo-mtwana
3PL-FUT-BEGIN-FV C2-ASK-SUBJ.FV C1-FATHER DSC.MRK CONJ DEM.1-CHILD
wa-kho u-yi-thath-a-phi i-ntlamba e-ngaka?
1.POS-3S.POS C1-C9-TAKE-FV-WHERE C9-UNKNOWN REL.9-SO BIG
They will first ask your father, where does your child pick up swearing?

11. Khona-manje u-ya-yi-tshintsh-a u-th -i voetsek.
ADV -ADV 2S-PRES.DISJUNCT-C9-CHANGE-FV 2S-SAY-FV PISS OFF
Right now you change that you said piss off

12. U-ya-cul -a
2S-PRES.DISJUNCT-SING-FV
You're singing (talking nonsense)

13. Tla ke o thus -e
COME 1S 2S HELP-SUBJ.FV
Come so I can help you

14. End' ba-zo-si-tshel-a, u -y-az-i
CONJ C2-FUT-1PL-SAY-FV 2S-C9-KNOW-VF
And they will tell us, you know it

15. Na-ba-zali be-thu ba-zo-zw-a ukuthi be-si-khulum-a
 CONJ-C2-PARENT 2.POS-1PL.POS C2-FUT-HEAR-FV CONJ PST-1PL-SPEAK-FV
Our parents too will hear what we were speaking
16. U-ya-cul-a!
 2S-PRST DISJUNC-SING-FV
You're singing (talking nonsense)

Extract 7 features a group of three girls aged seven, who are in a backroom with no supervision, while one is washing herself (hence references to water and the face cloth (2)). This excerpt is an example of how children can react to the recorder. In this case, the girls are worried that their language may be heard by the parents (15). Yet, the improper word used here is *voetsek*, which is not so improper. A mother or grandmother may at times use it to chase children, to mark some impatience. The event reveals the level of properness required in the family of the girl featured in Transcript 6.

No Iscamtho is used in the excerpt, but the exchange between the girls is quite multilingual. One Afrikaans borrowing (*iwaslap* (15)) appears, together with three utterances of *voetsek* (5; 8; 11). Also, English appears in the form of two conjunctions (*and* (6; 14)), the noun *irecord* 'recorder' (8), and the noun *ibhadi* (8; 9). This noun comes from English, but not only is it integrated morphologically and phonologically into Zulu, its meaning is also different from its original English meaning. It can stand for 'bad luck, trouble, problem.' Finally, Sotho is used in three turns (3; 7; 13).

The conversation between these three girls is informal, with the use of a multilingual and reasonably low register. But it reflects a rather proper use of language, in the informality of the female peer group. No real vulgar speech or slang is used. This interaction reflects the regular speech level of girls conforming to adult expectations. Apart from the recorder, control over speech is justified by the fact that the scene takes place in the room that the girl shares with her mother. Even though the girls are alone in the room, the grandmother is in the yard. Nonetheless, a few Iscamtho terms were recorded from these three girls in the same interaction (see Transcript 6).

Extract 8 (below) features two older boys playing video games and a younger one carrying the recorder. They are in a backroom, away from any adult. The extract features three different moments of the recording, but as they were separated only by a few minutes, they were analysed together. Note that the word *imbamba* used by the second older boy (9) is a mispronunciation of the word *mamba* referred to initially by the younger boy.

Extract 8: Younger Boy (Under 3), Boy 1 (8), Boy 2 (9)

1. YB: Mina angi-ku-fun -i wena.
1S.ABS NEG.1S -2S-WANT-NEG.FV 2S.EMPH
Me I don't want you

2. B2: Nami angi-ku-fun-i
CONJ.1S NEG.1S-2S -WANT-NEG
Me too I don't want you

3. YB: So what? So what?

4. B2: Angi-khulum-i nawe
NEG.1S-SPEAK-NEG.FV CONJ.2S
I am not speaking to you

5. YB: So what?

6. B2: Angi-s' u-mngane wa-kho. Angi -s' yi-Nkosi sikelel-a.
NEG.1S-AUX C1-FRIEND 1.POS-2S.PRON NEG.1S-AUX COP-LORD BLESS-FV
I am no longer your friend. I am no longer 'Nkosi Sikelela' ('God bless', South African National Anthem)

[...]

7. B1: *Senem* ya hao ke mang? Ke mang?
SURNAME 9.POS 2S.PRON COP WHO COP WHO
What is your surname? What is it?

8. YB: Mamba...

9. B2: Yo, haha, i-mbamba!
EXCL. LAUGH C9-MAMBA
Haha the mamba!

10. B1: Yi-gama la-kho e-ndlu-ng le?
COP-NAME 5.POS-2S.PRON LOC-HOUSE-LOC DEM.C5
It is your home name²⁶ this one, isn't it?

[...]

11. YB: Wakakaka! I -ya-ngen-a
C9-PRES.DISJUNC-ENTER-FV
Wakakaka! It is entering

²⁶ The name you use at home.

12. B1: Sheba li-ya-thus-a Katleho
 LOOK.IMP C5-PRES.DISJUNC-SCARE-FV NAME
Look, it is scary Katleho?
13. YB: Wo-z-o-bon-a Jabu. *Shit,* ama-kgata
 STAB-COME-FV+INF -SEE-FV NAME DISC.MRK C6-COP
 a-ya-si-gijim-is-a, *shit!*
 C6-PRST.DISJUNC-2PL-RUN-CAUS-FV DSC.MRK
Come and see Jabu, shit, police are chasing us, shit.
14. B1: Faka leli eli-thus-a-yo
 PUT DEM.5 REL.5-SCARE-FV-REL
Put that scary one on
15. B2: Aku -si-yi-lo
 NEG.17-NEG-COP-C5.ABS
It isn't one?
16. YB: Yi-vidiyo. Yi-muvi le, ye Jabu?
 COP-VIDEO COP-MOVIE DEM.5 EXCL. NAME
Is it a video, it's a movie this one, hey Jabu?
17. B2: Ngi-ya-li-thand-a lena u-ya-bon-a le?
 1s-PRST.DISJUNC-C5-LOVE-FV DEM.PRON 2s-PRST.DISJUNC-SEE-FV DEM.9
I like this one, you see this one?
18. B1: Hlala phansi Jabu!
 SIT DOWN NAME
Sit down Jabu
19. YB: Mina angi-hlal -i phansi
 1s.ABS NEG.1s-STAY-NEG.FV DOWN
Me I don't sit down

The excerpts present great variability in the language used, but not in the register. Zulu, Sotho (7) and English (3; 4) are used together with borrowings from English (*senem* (7), *shit* (13), *vidiyo* and *muvi* (16)) and Sotho (*sheba* (12)). The younger boy is in conflict with the older ones who tease him, and who have just forbidden him to play the game. But the younger boy is not scared to take up the challenge, and replies to the teasing using the same tone. Then when asked his name, he becomes 'Mamba,' to try and impress the older boys. The attempt fails.

But the excerpt shows the three-year-old boy trying to match the slang of the older boys. Thus, when their car gets chased by the police in the game, he warns with 'shit, *amakgata*.' Excerpt 8 is a good example of how acquisition and the first display of Iscamtho by very young children can occur, so as to compete with and emulate older children. Another non-standard feature can also be noted: in the phrase *wozobona*, standard rules require the subjunctive ending *-e*.

Extract 9 (below) features a mother and her two young daughters, both under five. While the conversation is in Zulu, it features many borrowings as well as Iscamtho-style items.

Extract 9: Mother (late 20s, M), Older Daughter (under 5, OD), Younger Daughter (under 3, YD) – in the family shop

1. M: yeh *man* awu-m-e, Ntombi awu-biz-e
EXCL. DSC.MRK HORT.2S-STAND-SUBJ.FV NAME HORT.2S-CALL-IMP
u-Ndumiso. La nga-phandle. U-m-tshel-e ukuthi awu-fun-i
C1A-NAME DEM INSTR-ADV 2S-C1-TELL-IMP CONJ NEG.2S-WANT-NEG.FV
uku-qhaqh-a
INF-UNDO HAIR-FV
Hey man wait, Ntombi call Ndumiso. There outside. Tell him that you don't want to untie²⁷ you hair
2. YD: mmm
3. M: awu-m-e *stil* man Ntombi
HORT.2S-STAND -SUBJ.FV STILL DSC.MRK NAME
Stand still man Ntombi
4. YD: aih, aih
5. OD: Sonto u -limaz-a um-twana-ki-thi, u-ya-m-bon-a
NAME 2S-HURT-FV C1-CHILD-LOC-ABS 2S-PRES.DISJUNC-C1-SEE-FV
um-twana-ki-thi manje
C1-CHILD-LOC-ABS NOW
Ntombi you are hurting my little sister, you see her my little sister now
6. YD: shii!
7. OD: awu-bon-i si-bhizi si-ya-dl-a
NEG.2S-SEE-NEG.FV 1PL-BUSY 1PL-PRES.DISJUNC-EAT-FV
Don't you see we are busy eating?
8. OD: si-thath-a ama-atshar
1PL-TAKE-FV C6-ACHAAR
We are taking achaar
9. YD: why Ntombi yo, u-**ma**-Ntombi-**si** aka-fun-i,
WHY NAME DISC.MRK C1-STYLE-NAME-STYLE NEG.3S-WANT-NEG.FV
why a-nga-th-i u-fun-' i-swidi? Ngi-cel-a
WHY REL.1-NEG-SAY-NEG.FV C1-WANT-FV C5-SWEET 1S-REQUEST-FV
u-ngi-ph-e.
2S-1S-GIVE-SUBJ.FV
Why Ntombi doesn't want, why doesn't she say she wants a sweet. Can you please give me (some)?

²⁷ In Standard Zulu *qhaqha* means 'rip down, demolish.'

10. M: i-m-a *man* eish Phumzi, yi-phepha leli u-nga -th -i
 STAB-STOP-FV DSC.MRK DSC.MRK NAME COP-PAPER DEM.5 2s-AUX-SAY-FV
 ngwaaa
 EXCL
 Stop it ha man Phumzi, it is just a paper this one, you could say ngwaaaa

In this extract, the mother's utterances are marked by several discourse markers such as *man* (1) (from Afrikaans, clearly from its phonology) and *eish* (10) (a trans-language South African marker). The mother also uses the Afrikaans term *stil* 'still' (3), originally an adjective, used here as an adverb, or possibly as a bare form adjective (the phonology, closer to *stel*, is clearly Afrikaans). This term used by the mother in a parenting instance is similar to the use of *skoon* in extract 1.

The daughters also use English terms, but as content words (*bhizi* (7), *atshar* (8) – a term from Indian origin referring to pickled mango, most often used in the South African context in Afrikaans and English, and known by the children as an English term). The question word *why* appears again as part of the native speech of a very young child (9). The youngest daughter (under three) makes use of a stylistic Iscamtho-like nickname, referring to her older sister, while addressing her mother. In the nickname *MaNtombisi* the affixes *ma-* and *-si* are both markers of style. The nickname is a regular endearing term used in the family, especially because the father mostly refers to his eldest daughter in this way. The girl is not speaking Iscamtho, as slang or style, but she makes use of a stylistic marker originating in Iscamtho, because it is used in her native environment as a positive, intimate term.

Extract 9 illustrates the penetration of the Iscamtho style in the local variety, which leads to its penetration in the local neutral register. It also illustrates the transmission of Afrikaans borrowings in the native environment, from the mother (and main care-giver) to the children. These terms, or the English terms noted in the girls' speech, appear to be native components of the girls' language, rather than actively borrowed terms. In regard to language ideology, this excerpt illustrates the fact that parents do not turn to a standard variety when addressing their younger children, and that language mix is conceived of as a neutral, unmarked aspect of local speech.

Extract 10 features a brief interaction at the local shop, between the young boy carrying the recorder, and the shop tenant. The shop is in a container in the yard, with a window opened on the street. Hence, while the shop tenant is inside the shop, the boy stays on the street.

Extract 10: Boy (7, B), adult male shop tenant (late 30s, AM) – at the shop

1. B: Ko ko, GrandPa and Eno
ONOMATOP. BRAND.NAME CONJ BRAND.NAME
Knock knock, GrandPa and Eno (two common kinds of benign medicine)
2. B: Ko ko, ko ko! Ngi-cel-a i-GrandPa ne-Eno
ONOMATOP. IS-REQUEST-FV C9-BRAND.NAME CONJ-BRAND.NAME
Knock, knock! Can I have GrandPa and Eno
3. AM:I-GrandPa i-phel-ile, sani
C9-BRAND.NAME C9-GET FINISHED-ANT.FV SON
GrandPa is finished, boy

This interaction is notable in two respects: first, the boy presents his request with an English phrase, recognisable by the use of the conjunction *and* between the two brand names (1; 2). Secondly, the adult male replies (3) to the boy using an Iscamtho address, while the interaction is respectful on both sides. Extract 10 illustrates the use of certain Iscamtho items in neutral or respectful social interactions. Here, the adult male marks his status by referring to the boy as *sani*. He could have used a Zulu term such as *mntwana* ‘child’ or *mfana* ‘boy,’ but *sani* is not only fit to the informal context or more common in this field, it is also used because the boy lives next door to the shop, and the adult male meets him often. As such, there is a kind of familiarity in their relation.

Conclusion:

Overall, two pictures emerge from Chapter 6 regarding the use of Iscamtho by children. On the one hand, a very restricted number of terms has penetrated the local language, to the point where they have lost or have been losing their slang markedness. These words are also used by the youngest children who acquired them from their parents or older children. On the other hand, many more terms have retained their slang dimension, and although there is evidence that such terms are transmitted sometimes to children, they do not constitute the normal register expected from children by most families. Yet, evidence was given that children have displayed some of them in front of adults, with no repercussions.

In addition, the discussion analysis confirmed several points. First, multilingual speech, although expressed in a diverse way, is a norm for children as well as adults. It has been shown in particular that parents address their children in the mixed variety, rather than in their ‘family’ or cultural language. Secondly, it has been shown that the acquisition of Iscamtho starts at a young age, through the socialisation of young children by older ones, and by young teenagers. Thirdly, two

different patterns have been identified among children in the seven- to nine-year-old group: girls have been shown to have a rather good knowledge of Iscamtho, but they use it for style and performance; boys were shown to use Iscamtho slang terms, with a low density of Iscamtho terms in their speech, which constitutes the normal low register of the peer group. Even though the same kind of usage was observed among girls, it was extremely limited in numbers.

To summarise the sociolinguistic status of Iscamtho among White City children, the following points should be stressed:

- Although Iscamtho is used mainly among peers, it is not restricted to the peer group. Rather, it can be used in intergenerational exchanges to some extent, either through neutral words, or because the relationship between the participants allows it.

- Iscamtho elements are somehow used in the familial context for endearment, notably through unmarked words and nicknames. But no slang terms were used in this context.

- Iscamtho as local slang is used differently from gangster-style 'tsotsi:' the latter is used in speech that appears rather monolingual, and with few discourse markers. They are not conceptually associated in names by boys, who distinguish Iscamtho and isiTsotsi or tsotitaal, but they are by girls, who consider Iscamtho to be isiTsotsi.

- Iscamtho is transmitted by older children to the younger ones as slang. But the features that have become neutral in the local sociolinguistic landscape are also transmitted from parents and other adults to the children.

Chapter 7: Linguistic Analysis

In this chapter, I provide a close linguistic analysis of the most relevant pieces of data. I have chosen the data presented in this chapter, for the structural aspects that each example reveals about language mix or the use of stylistic features in White City. Since in this chapter I am less interested in Iscamtho than in language structure, I have decided not to separate the two aspects in the presentation, where Iscamtho will appear only marginally. Hence the fact that Chapter 7 is not organised in sections but, rather, several themes are developed regarding noteworthy linguistic structures from the data. I also attempt to compare the observed structural output of language contact to the different theories developed in Chapter 2.

7.1 The Use of ‘why’

The first theme is the the use of the borrowing *why* in several languages.

Example 7.1

Mina ngi-thath-e e-ncani, ’y -y -az-’ ukuthi *why*,
 1s.ABS 1s-TAKE-PAST.FV REL.9-LITTLE 2s-STAB-KNOW-FV CONJ WHY
 angi-fun-i uku-ced-el-a omu-nye um-twana ama-zenke
 NEG.1s-WANT-NEG.FV INF-FINISH-APPL-FV ADJ.1-OTHER C1-CHILD C6-CHIPS
I just took little, you know why, I don’t want to finish the chips for some of my friend

Example 7.1 features an adaptation to Zulu of the English phrase *you know why*, with an elision of the subject prefix on the verb phrase *uyazi*, which becomes *yazi*, but the final vowel is elided to tie the verb to the next word, *ukuthi*. The noun *umtwana* is also non-standard and should appear instead as *umntwana*. Another non-standard feature appears on the verb *-cedela*, which should take the form *-qedela*. The issue of non-standard clicks was presented in Chapter 5.

The translation into Zulu of the English sequence *you know why* respects Zulu syntax, as in the phrase *-yaz’ ukuthi why* there is a conjunction *ukuthi* ‘that.’ The phrase is built on the same structure as its equivalent in Zulu: *uyazi ukuthi yini*. The English structure and its Zulu counterpart seem convergent enough to allow the mixed structure. Nonetheless, the Zulu syntactic pattern is not violated.

Example 7.2

That’s why ngi-fun-a uku-khumul-a ii-qhathulo
 THAT IS WHY 1s-WANT-FV INF-TAKE OFF-FV C8-SHOE

That is why I want to take the shoes off

Example 7.3

That is why i -nga-zwakal-i, ayi-lay'ta -nga
THAT IS WHY C9-NEG-COME-NEG.FV NEG.C9-LIGHT ON-NEG.PST.FV
That is why it is not coming, it didn't light

Examples 7.2 and 7.3 feature the use of the English phrase *that is why*, which opens the sentence and is immediately followed by the next phrase in Zulu. In Zulu syntax, the phrases would be *yingakho ngifuna* and *yingakho ingazwakali*. *Yi-* is the copulative prefix, and *ngakho* is the adverb. These examples can certainly be classified as code alternation, with the English phrase being a language island, but the two ways are quite congruent in structure, and the use of an English phrase does not change the general structure of the sentence, apart from the difference in the copulative structure. Also, in both cases, the English phrase induces the participial mood, marked by the verb ending in *-a* in example 7.2 and by *-nga-* in example 7.3, as expected in Zulu. However, another influence from English can be observed in the semantics of the phrase *ingazwakali* 'it is not coming.' this phrase is a Zulu adaptation of the English metaphorical expression *it's not coming* and, in Standard Zulu, such a phrase would not express the metaphorical meaning implied here, as the sentence refers to the recorder and the fact that its screen does not light up. Also, example 7.2 features a non-standard click *-qh* rather than *-c* in *iiqhathulo*.

Example 7.4

Why u-nje?
WHY 1S-ADV
Why are you like this?

In example 7.4, 'why' is used in the initial position, where it could be replaced by the Zulu term *yini*. Also, the sentence features the adverb *-nje*, which contrasts with the use of *-so* examined below.

Example 7.5

Why everyday ngi-y-e kuye?
WHY EVERYDAY 1S -GO-SUBJ.FV LOC.ABS1
Why must I go there everyday

Example 7.5 again features the use of *why* combined with another English adverb. *Why* could be replaced exactly by its Zulu equivalent *yini*. However, the adverb *everyday* would be replaced by an

adverbial phrase *zonke iinsuku*, placed at the end of the sentence. Therefore the borrowing of the English adverb has an impact on the sentence structure, which shows a case of grammatical replication induced by borrowing, or what Heine and Kuteva (2005:14, see page 20) refer to as grammaticalisation: a phrase involving an adjective, a noun, and two class prefixes is replaced with a bare adverb, with position change.

Example 7.6

O tla le bots-a hore *why*, le tla mo jwets-a hore ne le *dlat-a*
 C1 FUT 2PL ASK-FV CONJ *WHY* 2PL FUT C1 TELL-FV CONJ PAST 2PL PLAY-FV
He will ask why, you'll tell him that you were playing

Example 7.6 is in Sotho, and stresses the fact that *why* has been adopted in several varieties. The word is used here in place of Sotho *eng*, equivalent to Zulu *yini*. Also, the verb *dlala* is from Zulu, and replaces Sotho *bapala*. This example, produced by a seven-year-old girl telling her friends what the recording is for, is meant to illustrate that *why* is used in Sotho as well. As such, this is one lexical item that, in White City, cannot be classified as English, Zulu or Sotho. It belongs to all of them.

Example 7.7

U-m-tshel-el-e-ni?
 2S-C1-TELL-APPL-SUBJ.FV-WHAT
Why do you have to tell him?

Example 7.8

Hayi wena, u-m-tshel-el-a-ni
 NEG.MRK 2S.ABS 2S-C1-TELL-APPL-FV-WHAT
Ha you, why do you tell him?

Examples 7.7 and 7.8 are the only two cases in the children's data where the interrogative suffix *-ni* is being used to ask the question 'why' (or possibly 'what for'), in conformity with Standard Zulu. In all other instances, this interrogative suffix is used to express the meanings 'what' or 'how.' This stresses that the Standard Zulu form for 'why' is scarce in White City, as opposed to *why*. In example 7.8, a relation can be drawn with a certain cultural point: one boy injured his foot while playing football, and his two friends carried him home. When one of the friends teased the injured boy about his weight, the second friend reminded him that good manners demanded him not to make this negative remark, while their friend was in need of help. Rules of respect are essential to local

African cultures, and it is to stress those rules that the above standard form was used. However, further evidence would be necessary to make clear-cut assertions.

7.2 The Use of ‘so’

Example 7.9

Mele ngi-yi-fak-e so, kanjani?
 CONJ 1s-C9-PUT-SUBJ.FV THIS WAY HOW
I have to put it like this, how?

Example 7.10

Wena w-enz-a so, mina ng-enz-a so
 2s.ABS 2s-DO-FV THIS WAY 1s.ABS 1s-DO-FV THIS WAY
You do this way, I do that way

Example 7.11

Si-phum-a straight, ya asi-phum-e-ni so
 1PL-GO OUT-FV STRAIGHT DSC.MRK HORT.1PL-GO OUT-SUBJ.FV-PL THIS WAY
We are going straight, yeah let us go this way

Example 7.12

Park Station mhlambe i-ya so or so?
 PARK STATION PERHAPS C9-GO THIS WAY OR THIS WAY
(to) Parkstation maybe, is it going this way or that way?

Examples 7.9 to 7.12 all feature the borrowed adverb *so* and show that this adverb can be used in several different ways, with different meanings that are not always related to the English meaning:

- In the sense of ‘like this’ or, in a metaphorical sense, ‘this way,’ the meaning is directly drawn from one type of usage of the word in English, as in *why don’t you do so?*

- In the literal sense of ‘this way’ as in ‘this path’ or ‘this road,’ the adverb is clearly differentiated from English. It is in this case necessarily used with a movement of the body (usually the hand and the arm, or possibly the eyes and the chin), to point to the direction referred to.

In example 7.12, the last phrase *so or so* uses three English morphemes, and their order also fits English syntax. And yet this phrase cannot be considered English, as here, *so* has the semantic and pragmatic value it was given in the local mixed language. In all instances above, *so* may be replaced by its Zulu equivalent *nje* or *-nje* (as in *kanje*, see example 5.2). As such, *so* takes on meanings

which conform to the meanings of *nje*. But the fact that it was borrowed, seems to have been helped by the semantic convergence between the Zulu *nje*, and the English *so* in *why don't you do so?* Therefore, *so* constitutes a borrowing based on both natural congruence and adaptation of the borrowed term to the semantics of the base language.

The next theme presented below concerns the borrowing of English colour adjectives, which are the most common way to express colour in local Zulu

7.3 The Use of English Colour Adjectives

Example 7.13

I-dlul-a le-BM e-*white* u -ya-yi-bon-a le-*white*?
 C9-SURPASS-FV DEM.9-BMW REL.9-WHITE 2s-PRES.DISJUNC-C9-SEE-FV DEM.C9-WHITE
It is better than that white BM', do you see this white one?

Example 7.14

Mina ngi-thand-a i-Phosh eli-*grey*
 1s.ABS 1s-LOVE-FV C5-PORSCHE REL.5-GREY
I love the grey Porsche

Example 7.15

Mina ngi-thand-a le-moto e-*orange*
 1s.ABS 1s-LOVE-FV DEM.9-CAR REL.9-ORANGE
I love that orange car

Examples 7.13 to 7.15 reflect the use of colour adjectives. In these examples, the adjectives *white*, *grey* and *orange* are all used as relatives, but they may at times be also used as predicatives. Standard Zulu has few colour adjectives (as do other Bantu languages), and the only ones commonly used in White City would be *-nyama* 'black' and *-hlophe* 'white.' Another interesting aspect of the three examples above, resides in the fact that two brand names referred to for cars (*Posh* and *BM*) are used in two different classes. This is shown by the relative agreement prefix in the colour relatives: *eli-* marks class 5, while *e-* marks class 9. This is because although there is a standard form *ili-* for the class 5 prefix in Zulu, it most often appears in a reduced form *i-* (in all Zulu varieties), i.e. in a form identical to the class 9 prefix. Hence the fact that speakers may choose any of the two classes, and a speaker can sometimes use a word with relative agreement in one class in a sentence, and in the other class in the next sentence. This corresponds to a mechanism whereby borrowed items are recategorised, made possible by the complex nominal categorisation system of Bantu

languages, that Simango (2010, 2011) identified in Xhosa/English CS, and in Chichewa/English CS.

The following theme I present concerns the borrowing of English numerals.

7.4 The Use of English Numerals

Example 7.16

Mhlambe *yi-ten randi* manje
ADV COP-TEN RANDS ADV
Maybe it is ten rands now

Example 7.17

Hayi, futhi *one rand*
DSC.MRK CONJ ONE RAND
No, one rand again

Example 7.18

Hayi u-nga-yi-theng-is-i nge-*fifty cent*
DSC.MRK 2s-NEG-C9-BUY-CAUS-NEG.FV INSTR-FIFTY CENTS
No, you should not sell if for fifty cents

Example 7.19

Aku-yi-se-*two rand*, yi-*one rand*
NEG.17-COP -AUX.INFIX.-TWO RANDS COP-ONE RAND
It's not two rands any more, it's one rand

Example 7.20

Mina ngi-dlal-a nge-*one rand fifty* hayi nge-*two rands*
1s.ABS 1s-PLAY-FV INSTR-ONE RAND FIFTY NEG.MRK INSTR-TWO RANDS
Me I play with one rand fifty, not with two rands

Examples 7.16 to 7.20 above reflect instances of the use of an English compound including a number and the nouns *rand* and *cent*, which refer to the South African currency. As mentioned in Chapter 5 (page 135), these English borrowings constitute the most common way to count money in Soweto. Some variation is noticeable: *yi-ten randi* (7.16) shows a phonological adaptation to Zulu – consisting of the vowel *-i* at the end of the term. The noun does not bear any mark of number, or any class marker, but the copulative prefix *yi-* does not imply the use of a class prefix.

The compound *one rand* (7.17) appears in a strict bare form. This is a non-standard construction in regard to Zulu syntax, according to which the phrase *futhi i-one rand* would have been expected,

therefore the example shows a case of grammaticalisation. Phonologically, the compound is not altered. The compound *fifty cent* (7.18) on the other hand is integrated with the use of an instrumental particle *nga-*, but the form used, *nge-*, informs the analyst about the class used, which is class 9. Note that compounds for the value of money are consistently used with class 9 in the data, except in a few instances where they appear as bare forms. Finally, the last example (7.20) features a class agreement within the instrumental particle, but more importantly it features an English plural marker *-s* in the compound *i-two rands*.

Number in these compounds is never marked by a plural class prefix, and when integrated into a Zulu class, compounds are singular. Either the compound bears no other mark of number than the figure itself, i.e. no grammatical number is marked, or it can bear the English plural suffix *-s*. Yet, this suffix does not induce plural agreement in the class prefixes, which are the normal way in which number is expressed in Zulu syntax. English compounds are used as singular nouns, even when preserving the English plural suffix.

Example 7.21

H-a-ka	<i>twenty-eleven,</i>	y-e-ka	<i>twenty -ten</i>	le-nto	le
COP-PRONOMIL-POS	2011	COP-PRONIMIL-POS	2010	DEM.9-THING	DEM.9

These things are from 2011, this thing is from 2010 (it is outdated, out of fashioned)

In example 7.21 featuring the use of two year dates, it appears that dates are integrated into class 1, as shown by the possessive *-ka-*. They may also occur with the use of the instrumental *nga-*, which marks coalescence with class 1 as *ngo-* or class 9 as *nge-*, to express the idea of ‘in 2011’ for instance, as *ngo-2011*. Both cases were observed in the field, but not in the data. However, it does feature when one expresses time, for example, as in *ngo-eight* ‘at eight (o’clock).’

Finally, the class 9 demonstrative appears as *le-* on the noun *lento*, but when standing alone after the noun, it is supposed to appear as *leyo*. This illustrates the trend which consists in reducing demonstratives to the three basic forms *la*, *le* and *lo*.

Example 7.22

Vele	<i>i-one minutes</i>	y-isi-khathi	esi-de
DSC.MRK	C9-ONE MINUTE	COP-C7-TIME	ADJ.7-LONG

But one minute is a long time

In example 7.22, the English number is used in a compound with the noun ‘minute’ to express

duration. The noun kept an English plural morpheme *-s*, while the meaning of the compound is singular. This can be explained by the fact that the term, when used for duration, is most of the time used in the plural form even in English (simply because only the numbers 0 and 1 would be followed by singular, all the others by plural). The practice is extended here to the borrowed compound. The use of the plural morpheme from English is not justified by the meaning, nor is it justified in the source of the borrowing. It can be assumed to be here through an overgeneralisation of the English rule most often used in borrowing this construction. But it is not significant from the syntactic perspective.

The next section presents a particular feature that illustrates both a grammatical redefinition of a borrowing, and a semantic redefinition, i.e. the use of the English numeral one.

7.5 The Particular Use of the Word ‘One’ with Purely Local Meaning

Example 7.23

Ha i-gwala, mina angi-yi-sab-i le-nja le,
 EXCL. C5-COWARD 1s.ABS NEG.1s-C9-*FEAR*-NEG.FV DEM.9-*DOG* DEM.9
 ma-se i-one ayi-luman-i
 CONJ-AUX C9-*ONE* NEG.C9-*BITE*-NEG.FV
Ha it's a coward, me I am not afraid of that dog, when he is alone he doesn't bite

Example 7.24

Ma -ka-yi-wani aka-luman-i
 CONJ-C1.NEG-COP-*ONE* NEG.C1-*BITE* -NEG.FV
When he is alone he doesn't bite you

Example 7.25

I-nkinga i-one mele ngi-khiph -e le-phone le
 C9-PROBLEM C9-*ONE* CONJ 1s-TAKE OUT-SUBJ.FV DEM.9-*PHONE* DEM.9
 yona ngi-ku-ph -e yona
 C9.ABS 1s-2s-GAVE-SUBJ.FV C9.ABS
The first problem is that I must take out this phone and give it to you

Examples 7.23 and 7.24 show a particular way to use the borrowing *one* in White City: *one* is an adjective meaning ‘alone’ or ‘by oneself.’ This meaning is not expressed by *one* in English, as the adjective would be *alone*. In Example 7.24, *wani* is pronounced with a long vowel *-a-*, in conformity with Zulu prosody, and the final vowel *-i* is pronounced distinctly. Furthermore, in these examples, the verb *-lumana* is in the reciprocal form, and the form *-luma* would have been expected.

The use of the negative class 1 pronoun *-ka-* in *maka yi-one* is also surprising, as the relative prefix *-e-* would have been expected, in *ma eyi-one* ‘when he is alone.’ In Standard Zulu, the phrase would be *ma eyedwa*.

In example 7.25, *one* is also an adjective; however its meaning here is that of the English adjective *first*. In the case of the phrase *inkinga i-one*, one cannot literally translate it as ‘the one problem:’ this formulation in English would imply that there is no other problem besides the one. Rather, the proper translation is ‘the first problem’ or ‘the problem number one.’ Again, the case of *one* in the three examples above, although looking like a simple borrowing, reflects the creative mechanisms at play in the outcome of language contact in White City. Semantically, the term is an innovation.

The three examples above demonstrate that the semantic redefinition of a borrowed term is often realised when the term is adopted in Zulu. They particularly stress that Sebba’s (1998) concept of congruence as constructed by speakers, is relevant to understand what mechanisms drive the structuring of bilingual speech. Here, the English numeral *one* and the Zulu adjective *-nye* were not semantically, nor syntactically, equivalent, but when it was borrowed, one underwent a semantic redefinition, establishing congruence, which allowed an adaptation to the adjective category as understood in Zulu. Also, both examples 7.23 and 7.25 feature a non-standard demonstrative *le* for class 9, rather than *leyo*, when standing alone after the noun.

The next set of examples presents the case of English nominal phrases that were transformed into nouns in the process of borrowing.

7.6 English Phrases Turned into Nouns

All the following examples feature the compound of an English noun with either a determinant or an adjective preceding it, or with two nouns and a conjunction. Each case needs to be analysed separately to assess the mechanisms at play in the use of these English borrowings, which all reflect a certain redefining path to congruence.

Example 7.26

yee hee ngi-ced -ile, ngi-good girl
EXCL. 1S-FINISH-ANT.FV 1S -GOOD GIRL
Yeah I finished, I'm a good girl

In example 7.26, the English noun phrase *good girl* is used by a girl under three-year-old

(around thirty-month-old). She is proud to have finished all her food. She learnt the borrowing from her parents, who encourage her to be *u-good girl*. The English phrase is used here as a predicative qualificative. Again, the borrowed pair (adjective-noun) underwent a modification in its syntactic property (see Simango 2010; 2011) to be integrated into Zulu, allowing the pair to be redefined as a noun, to become congruent with the Zulu system (Sebba 1998). A non-standard click also features in *cedile*, which would be *qedile* in Standard Zulu.

Example 7.27

Sonto ngi-cel-a i-kholdrhink
 NAME 1s-REQUEST-FV C9-COLD DRINK
Sonto could I have a cold drink

In example 7.27, the noun phrase *cold drink* becomes a class 9 noun. The adjective and the noun from English are taken as a single noun as they are borrowed, but this would arguably be the case in Standard South African English, and the compound seems to have been formed before borrowing occurred. The noun was also phonologically adapted, and it features a rhotic *r* in *-drhink*.

Example 7.28

Yahi, a-ya-theng-w-a lawa-manzi a-se-next door?
 NEG.MRK C6-PRES.DISJUNC-BUY-PASS-FV DEM.C6-WATER C6-LOC-NEXT DOOR
No, is that water bought next door?

In example 7.28, the noun phrase *next door* is also converted into a single noun, but this time the noun is in its locative form. Again, a conceptual modification is necessary to adapt the English phrase to Zulu: the pragmatic function of the locative prefix *-se-* is to mark the following noun as referring to a location. This conceptual dimension is already contained into the noun phrase in English, but redefinition was necessary to find congruence with the Zulu agglutinative system. This borrowing is so common that most children, and many adults in White City, would not know how to say *next door* in Zulu (which would be *endlu engasecaleni*). Although this particular example does not indicate class belonging, in another example in the data the borrowing appears, in Sotho, as *kua next door* (see transcript 7, line 525), with a class 9 agreement.

Example 7.29

Next time ha re o f-a koldrhink o e qet -e *same time*.
 NEXT TIME CONJ 1P 2s GIVE-FV COLD DRINK 2s C9 FINISH-SUBJ.FV SAME TIME
Next time when we give you cold drink, you should finish it at once same time

Example 7.29 also features the compound *cold drink* in class 9, but as this is Sotho, class 9 bears a zero prefix on the noun. Also the sentence features two adverbial phrases *next time* and *same time*. As conforming to their use in Soweto English, these adverbial phrases are not preceded by a determinant that would turn them into nominal phrases (‘the next time’ or ‘the same time’), nor by a Zulu prefix. They can thus be considered bare forms, or language islands.

Example 7.30

Mama u-zo-lokhu u-ngy -enz-is-e ama-*up and down*
 MOTHER 2S-FUT-AUX 2S-1S-DO-CAUS-SUBJ.FV C6-UP AND DOWN
Mum you will keep making me go up and down (litt: making me do up and downs)

In example 7.30, the adverbial phrase ‘up and down’ is converted into a class-6 noun. It is another example of redefinition and built-in congruence, affecting both the semantic and syntactic levels: the nature of the sequence *up and down* is redefined, from a prepositional phrase to a noun, and the structure introducing the noun is different from what it would be in English (‘you make me do up-and-downs’ rather than ‘you make me go up and down’), but it allows a Zulu structure using the verb *-enza* ‘do’ and a causative verbal extension *-is-*. The verb phrase translates literally as ‘you cause me to do.’ The subjunctive form of *ungiyenzise* following the auxiliary *-lokhu* is non-standard, and one would have expected *ungiyenzisa*, in the participial form.

The five examples above confirm that, in the process of borrowing lexicon, the original value of the borrowed term or phrase may be changed, in its semantics, its grammatical value, or its phonetics. These terms are not only instances of borrowing, but are also instances of active redefinition and reconfiguration of the linguistic material to the variety in which it is used. This redefinition has been identified at the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels. It stresses that even simple lexical borrowing can be a creative process. Sub-section G below presents a particular aspect of noun class attribution in the borrowing of English lexicon.

7.7 Particular Transformations in the Inclusion of English Nouns into Zulu and Sotho

Example 7.31

mina ngi-mcondo nje ngathi yi-*stick* s-o-*metshisi*,
 1S.ABS 1S-THIN.LEGGED ADV CONJ COP-STICK C7-POS+C2B-MATCHES

lo o-hlal -a e-bond-eni l-ethu
 DEM.1 REL.1-STAY-FV LOC-WALL-LOC C.11-1PL.POSS
I am thin-legged like a matchstick (lit.: a stick of a match(es)), this one that stays on our wall

Example 7.32

Phuma, aba-nye ba-hlephul-e is-kipping sa-kho
 GO OUT.IMP ADJ.2-OTHER C2-TEAR OFF-PAST.FV C7-SKIPPING C7.POS-POS.2S
Go out, some others just cut your skipping rope

Example 7.33

Wandile, se kae s-tocksweet sa ka?
 NAME C7 WHERE C7-STOCKSWEET C7.POS 1S.POS
Wandile, where is my lollypop?

A first interesting trait distinguishes example 7.31 above from other examples presented earlier: it features a Zulu replication *stick sometchisi* of the English compound *matchstick*, rather than a borrowing of the compound to produce *imatchstick*. In the redefinition process, the form of the plural nouns *matches* is kept, but the new noun is singular.

Examples 7.31 to 7.33 above aim to demonstrate how an English noun starting with *s-* is integrated into class 7, rather than classes 5 or 9, as with other English nouns. The initial consonant, when added a pre-prefix vowel *i-*, does not remain the first consonant of the noun, but becomes the class 7 prefix *isi-*, and the noun class is immediately redefined.

This shows up especially in the possessive *sometchisi* ‘of a match,’ *sakho* ‘of yours’ or *sa ka* ‘of mine.’ All three bear an initial *s-* marking their agreement with class 7. These examples show that class 7 is often an alternative to classes 5 and 9 in the borrowing of English terms into local Zulu or Sotho, while in the process of recategorisation of the English noun, the possibilities of Zulu and Sotho speakers are quite extended. However, classification in class 7 is restricted to nouns in *s-*, and it is not automatic, as confirmed by example 7.34 below, which contains a Standard Zulu term from English featuring an initial *s-*: *iswidi* ‘sweet.’ This is a class-5 term, as confirmed by the interrogative form *iswidi lani*. Nouns integrated in class 7 begin in English with two consonants (*stick*, *skipping*), while in the example below, the noun *sweet* is not interpreted as such. Rather, it is considered to begin with a labialised consonant. So *iswidi* begins with a VCV pattern, while *istick* or *iskipping* begin with a VCCV pattern²⁸.

²⁸I thank Derek Gowlett for this phonetic analysis.

Example 7.34

I -swidi la-ni?
C5-SWEET C5.POS-WHAT
A sweet for what?

Sometimes, the redefinition of an English term as class 7 leads to a difficulty in translation. Example 7.35 below reflects this case, as the noun *is'crap* may be conceived of as 'crap' or 'scrap' (both translations could apply, as the girl is speaking negatively about the cheap phone her father means to give her). This may reflect a strategy, if the girl does not understand the difference between the two English terms.

Example 7.35

Angithi is-crap sa ka asi-fun-i uku-ngi-tsharj-is-a
DSC.MRK C7-CRAP C7.POS 1S.PRON NEG.C7-WANT-NEG.FV INF-1S-CHARGE-CAUS-FV
I say my scrap/crap doesn't want to charge (for) me.

Also in this example, the Sotho possessive *sa ka* replaces Zulu *sami*: the 1st person possessive pronoun is *ka*, while *sa* is a possessive class marker. The Zulu possessive pronoun *-mi* has been exchanged. According to Myers-Scotton's 4-M model, this pronoun would be classified as a late outsider system morpheme. The fact that it was borrowed is in opposition with Myers-Scotton's system morpheme principle. In addition, the use of the causative verbal extension *-isa* is surprising, as the meaning expressed here would have required the applicative extension *-ela*.

Example 7.36

Ngi-th-i a-ng'-gay-e i-piece-nyana aka-ncany-w-i
1S-SAY-FV SUBJ.C1-1S-GIVE-SUBJ.FV C9-PIECE-LITTLE NEG.C1-WANT-PASS-NEG.FV
I say he should give me a little piece, he refuses

Example 7.36 above features an English borrowing *piece* used in class 9, to which a Sotho diminutive has been suffixed. This form with *-nyana* is the only observed case of a diminutive suffixed to an English borrowing. The structure is productive with this diminutive, and new forms are quite common in White City. The noun is not adapted phonologically, but only recategorised in a Zulu class. Yet it is rooted in the local language, so as to allow a nine-year-old boy to suffix an adjective to it. Although the adjective is not Zulu but Sotho, the suffixation process demonstrates that the sociolinguistic state of the borrowed noun is not determined by a phonological adaptation.

Example 7.37

I wonder o batla-ng o ba ets-a eng hobane le ba -Daniel
 I WONDER C1 WANT-WHAT C1 C2 DO-FV WHAT CONJ ADV C2.POS-NAME
 o ba ents-e *last week*
 C1 C2 DO-PAST.FV LAST WEEK

I wonder what he wants to do with them, because he did Daniel's (kids) last week.

In example 7.37, the mother of a girl carrying the recorder is discussing in Sotho the purpose of the recording. A verbal phrase *I wonder* opens the sentence. It is one of the very few verbal phrases borrowed in the data. It is not morphologically integrated into the rest of the sentence, and can therefore be considered as a language island. Sotho would have a different structure *ke makala hore* 'I wonder whether...' The appearance of the language islands leads to the grammatical reconfiguration of Sotho syntax, as the conjunctive *hore* has disappeared. Thus, the term island may not be appropriate, and Heine and Kuteva's grammaticalisation appears to be a more relevant concept here. The adverbial phrase *last week* however appears as a language island, and it has no syntactic impact.

7.8 Other interesting features involving English

In the following set of examples, noteworthy transformations in the inclusion of English phrases are presented.

Example 7.38

Na-le u-Fanta, u-ya -m-az-i u-Fanta,
 CONJ-DEM.1 C1-NAME 2-PRES.DISJUNC-C1-KNOW-FV C1-NAME
 u-Fanta *is like* u-Hlano...
 C1-NAME IS LIKE C1-NAME
And this one Fanta, you know him Fanta, Fanta is like Hlano...

Example 7.38 above features a borrowing in the form of a piece of English verbal phrase *...is like...*. The phrase introduces a comparison, which in Zulu would be done with the use of a verb, such as *ukufana* 'to be alike.' The structure including a copulative verb and an adverb is transferred from English to Zulu together with the words, and the purpose is to establish the comparison through the most direct structure. The boy may also have been influenced by the common phrase *it's like...*, which is often used in White City. Again the borrowed verbal phrase is not a simple language island: while remaining English in their phonology, the borrowed terms induce a restructuring of Zulu syntax, which constitutes another example of Heine and Kuteva's grammaticalisation. The new

structure uses a copulative verb, which never occurs in Zulu, as Bantu copulas are not verbs, and the comparison is expressed with the adverb *like* rather than a verb. But at the same time, the Zulu system morphemes are preserved, with the class-1 prefix *u-* appearing in both nouns. As a result, the new structure is a hybrid and the sentence cannot be classified either as Zulu or English.

Example 7.39

Mi ngi-zo-ku-bolek-' i-moto, awu-ngi-bolek-e leyo, mfwethu
 ME 1s-FUT-2s-LEND-FV C9-CAR HORT.2s-1s-LEND -SUBJ.FV DEM-C9 FRIEND
Me I will lend you a car, lend me that one, mate

Example 7.40

Why u-th-i *mi*?
 WHY 2s-SAY-FV ME
Why do you say me?

Examples 7.39 and 7.44 feature an interesting case of English borrowing, in the form of the pronoun *me*. Pronouns are known to be rarely borrowed (see Arlotto 1972 on deep features in historical linguistics), as they constitute some of the core lexicon of a language. In this case, what is used is an emphatic pronoun, which is maybe less of a core lexicon item. It is not clear how common this borrowing is, but both examples were produced by two completely separate subjects in different recordings: one from a seven-year-old boy, and the other from a nine-year-old girl. The second sentence was addressed by the girl to her father. The Zulu emphatic pronoun *mina* would occur in the same position, and apart from semantics and position, further congruence may have been constructed from the obvious phonological analogy, as *mina* contains *mi*.

Example 7.41

Baba, baba, i-th-i *no* baba
 FATHER FATHER C9-SAY-FV NO DAD
Dad, dad, it means no dad!

Example 7.41 features the use of the English negative exclamation *no*. It is used here in a position that could be fulfilled by Zulu *cha*, but this Zulu negation is quite rare in White City, where the negative marker *hayi* is usually favoured. Yet *hayi* would not be used in the position filled here by *no*. The general absence of *cha*, and the fact that the utterance occurred during an argument between father and daughter in a primarily Sotho-speaking family, may explain why *no* was retained.

However, this particular girl displayed a lot of stylisation and slang, and she is known to her neighbours for her colourful language. Considering that *no* occurred only as a separate exclamation in other instances, no general conclusion should be drawn regarding the social status of the word. On the whole, this is an interesting example of borrowing and/or alternation.

Example 7.42

I-charger i-simple, ngi-nga-yi-theng-a, plus i-original
 C9-CHARGER C9-SIMPLE 1S-AUX-C9-BUY-FV PLUS C9-ORIGINAL
The charger is simple, I can buy it, plus it's an original (genuine one)

Example 7.42 features common borrowings associated with technology and trade, like *charger* and *original*, in connection with a cell phone. The use of the adjective *simple* can be explained by the fact that adjectives are borrowed from English in most cases in this field, especially by speakers who are not from Zulu heritage, such as the father in this example. Yet a Zulu equivalent such as *-lula* could have been used. But the most important trait in this sentence is the use of the English conjunction *plus*, used here as a discourse marker to stress an important point about the topic. In this instance, the term could have been easily replaced with the Zulu word *futhi*, very common in Standard and local Zulu. It is not clear why in this sentence the speaker (the girl's father) prefers the English term, but it might have a rhetorical purpose, or it might be a natural reflex due to the use of English vocabulary in the rest of the sentence.

Example 7.43

Yeka uku-khom-a na le-nto ye-silence
 STOP.IMP INF-COME-FV CONJ DEM.9-THING POS.9-SILENCE
Stop coming with this silence thing

Example 7.43 was produced by an eight-year-old boy, while playing video games with his nine-year-old friend. The boy is referring to the silent mode of the game, which his friend activated by mistake. The structure of the verb phrase *yeka ukukhoma na...* is a striking example of transfer from English 'stop coming with...' This English phrase is often used in informal speech in White City, for instance in the sentence *stop coming with shit!* This example reflects a creative process of grammatical transfer, and the fact that English has a syntactic effect on White City Zulu. The structure exists in Afrikaans, but it does not feature in White City speech, and only a few local speakers, most of them older people who would have used Afrikaans beyond school, would know enough Afrikaans to be familiar with it. However, given the pronunciation of *khoma* with a close vowel as in Afrikaans *kom*, rather than an open vowel as in English *come*, Afrikaans may be at the

origin of its use in White City. Nowadays, given that the phrase is common in English as spoken in Soweto, and that younger speakers only know a few Afrikaans expressions as presented in Chapter 5, I see English as the more likely explanation as to why an eight-year-old boy would use it.

Example 7.44

35 rand ba-ngi-ph-e yi-40 rand
 35 RAND C2-1S-GIVE-PAST.FV COP-40 RAND
It's 35 Rand, they gave me 40 Rand

U-zo-wa-bek-a fo kusasa?
 2S-FUT-C6-PUT ASIDE-FV FOR TOMORROW
Will you save them for tomorrow?

Example 7.44 features a borrowing of the preposition *for*, to produce a structure that does not match its Zulu equivalent. In Standard Zulu, the sentence would appear as *uzowabekela kusasa*, with the use of an applicative verbal extension *-el-*. The use of the mixed structure *fo kusasa* reflects the making of congruence (Sebba 1998), which results in a structure which becomes innovative in Zulu. This innovative structure should be compared with the structure proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993a:139, see page 45). She gives the example *for wewe* ‘for you’ from English/Swahili mix, as a case of structure that cannot occur, for reasons of incongruence between the two language systems. Example 7.44 stresses that incongruence is not an absolute constraint, and does not forbid the structure, due to the ability of speakers to construct congruence following the borrowing of a term and its semantics. According to Derek Gowlett (personal communication), this structure is also used in Sotho languages accross South Africa. Finally, this example refers to money, in that it is an answer from a seven-year-old boy to the girl who just explained that her parents had given her forty Rand. It is the only case of class 6 being used for money, postulating the word *amarands*, which does not appear in the data and which, as far as I know, is never used.

Example 7.45

Ma-wu-bon-a se-wu-m-ile u-tshentsh-’ is-dravelo le-nto
 CONJ-2S-SEE-FV AUX-2S-STOP-ANT.FV 2S-CHANGE-FV C7-STEERING DEM.9-THING
 yo-kuthi u-zo-lokhu-tshentsh-a yi-demo i-shaya ke, hamba *straight*.
 POS.9-CONJ 2S-FUT-AUX-CHANGE-FV COP-THE MORE C9-HIT THEN, GO STRAIGHT
When you see you have stopped you should change the steering, this thing that if you keep changing, it is the more it goes then, goes straight

Example 7.45 features an interesting borrowing accompanied by a case of grammaticalisation, from English to Zulu. The sentence was produced by a fourteen-year-old teenager playing video games with his friends. It was not included in the statistical analysis, as it features in a recording of boys older than the age group studied in this thesis. The word *yidemo* is composed of a copulative prefix *yi-* followed by the English phrase, *the more*. In the recording, the vowel in *-de-* is clearly pronounced [ə] as in English *the*, and the vowel in *-mo* is also an open vowel [ɔ:] as in English *more*. The structure also corresponds, not to Standard English, but to Black South African English, in which one would say: ‘the more it rains; it is the more I stay at home.’ This sentence differs from Standard English, which would require: ‘the more it rains, the more I stay at home.’ Hence the fact that the term can be analysed as the adoption of the word and its structure, as well as its semantics and its vowel phonology, from English to Zulu. It is a good example of Heine and Kuteva’s grammaticalisation following a borrowing. In the process, the English phrase becomes a noun in the Zulu syntax.

This striking example of borrowing and grammatical innovation was also collected, in a slightly different form, by Hilde Gunnink during fieldwork in White City in 2012 (from personal communications). She recorded a young woman (migrant to Soweto) who used the term as *yidoma*. Also it seems that, although it is not very frequent, this term is normal in White City. It was claimed as a commonly used term by several adults questioned about its meaning.

7.9 The Elision of Noun Prefixes in Zulu

Examples 7.46 and 7.47 below illustrate cases of nouns, and even dependents of the noun, missing a class prefix in Zulu sentences. Both examples come from children with a Sotho background: the first one is from a nine-year-old girl whose father speaks Northern Sotho, and the second one is from a three-year-old boy whose family speaks Tswana.

Example 7.46

U-yo-fund-a ’ -*grade* ’ -*bani* *next year?*
 2S-FUT-STUDY-FV C? -*GRADE* C? -*WHO* *NEXT YEAR*
Which grade are you going to study next year?

In example 7.46, the noun and its dependent are both missing a class prefix. The noun is the English borrowing *grade*. The dependent is an interrogative *-bani*, normally used only with classes 1 and 2, as *ubani* and *babani*. To translate the syntactic logic into English, the phrase could be

rendered as ‘the grade which is who?’

However, as both prefixes are missing, the phrase is technically ungrammatical. One would have expected instead: *uyofunda igrade ini next year?* where grade takes on the class-9 prefix *i-*, and the interrogative is made of the class-9 prefix *i-* and the interrogative suffix *-ni*. If both elisions in this example are remarkable, I must stress that other instances of a noun prefix being elided occurred in the data, but they are found in the initial position of a sentence, if not a turn of speech, and they mark a fast rhythm and ‘cool’ speech rather than a grammatical change. Example 7.46 however marks a suppression of the prefixes which is not accidental, as it is reproduced on the adjective. The sentence is commonly used in White City, where it is seen as the ‘normal’ way to ask this question to any child. But it is ungrammatical to a speaker of Standard Zulu. There seems to be a conceptual incongruence between the expected noun class and its dependent interrogative adjective, which is overcome by the elision of the two class prefixes.

There may be an influence from the English borrowing itself in the production of this ungrammatical structure: the structures ‘which grade’ or ‘what grade’ could be seen as the source of *grade bani*. But one could consider that she is replicating a Sotho pattern, in which the phrase with the same borrowing could appear as *grade mang* ‘what grade,’ where *mang* is equivalent to the Zulu word *ubani*. In this case, *grade* would be borrowed in class 9 and bear a zero prefix. But the inconsistency between a noun from class 9 and the question word reserved for class 1 would remain. Sotho would require *eng* rather than *mang*. Also in that case, the phrase is in violation of the MLF model: the zero prefix, a system morpheme, from Sotho is transferred not only to the English borrowing, but also to the Zulu adjective, in a sentence in Zulu. The system morpheme principle is then violated, as well as the morpheme order principle. If English is seen as the source, then *grade* may be seen as a bare form; yet there is no explanation for the missing prefix on *-bani*, and the structure is then purely innovative.

Example 7.47

U-dlal-a yi-ni? U-dlal-a *movie*?
2s-PLAY-FV COP-WHAT 2s-PLAY-FV MOVIE
What are you playing? Are you playing a film?

In example 7.47, only the noun prefix is missing in the second sentence. Again the structure is ungrammatical, and one would have expected to read: *udlala i-movie*. Once more, it is not clear whether the innovative form was used due to the child’s Sotho/Tswana background, although this

could be a reasonable explanation, considering that the word would fall into class 9, which in Sotho bears a zero-noun prefix. Two possible explanations can be given for the structure of this phrase: either the word is treated as Sotho class 9, in which case the sentence is a violation of the system morpheme principle, with a zero-morpheme from Sotho being inserted in the Zulu base language; or the word can also be treated as English, and appear as a bare form. But a comparison of this possibility with the rest of the data shows that it is an unlikely explanation: English borrowings most often appear with a Zulu class marker, and this is always the case in the speech of the three-year-old boy, apart from example 7.47. This example is therefore better explained as a Sotho grammatical insertion, in violation of the system morpheme principle. The boy would not know another word than *movie* and *video*, either in Sotho or in Zulu, to speak about a film.

7.10 Particular Interactions between Zulu and Sotho

The examples below feature language mix involving Zulu and Sotho. Apart from the languages involved, many of these examples also feature structures that are of general interest to language contact studies.

Example 7.48

E tlo *f-a*
 C9 FUT DIE-FV
It will die

In example 7.48 the Zulu verb *-fa* is used in a Sotho sentence. Both its position and morphology (with the final vowel *-a*) would be the same in Zulu and Sotho. The borrowing is not treated differently from borrowings from English, but it does not need to be morphologically adapted, as Zulu and Sotho verbal morphology are quite similar.

Example 7.49

Manje ba-theng-e i-*tsuo.nyana*
 ADV C2-BUY-PST C9-CHICKEN.LITTLE
Now they bought a baby chicken

In example 7.49, only the Sotho or Tswana noun *tsuonyana* is inserted in a Zulu sentence. It bears the diminutive suffix *-nyana*. The use of this suffix has been explained previously with an English noun. As the sentence was produced by a three-year-old boy whose family speaks Tswana, it is possible that the borrowing reflects a gap in the boy's knowledge of Zulu.

Example 7.50

U-ya-bon-a ngi-cin-ile la, ngi-gand-a
2S-PRST.DISJUNC-SEE-FV 1S-TURN HARD-ANT.FV DEM 1S-STEP ON-FV
le-se-retse la
DEM-C7-MUD DEM
You see I am hard here, I stepped on that mud here

Example 7.50 features the insertion of a Sotho class-7 noun, *seretse* ‘mud.’ However the status of the demonstrative prefix attached to the noun is not clear: *le-* may be understood as a Zulu demonstrative, either standard for class 9, or non-standard for class 5 instead of *leli-*, as is often used in White City. Or it is the regular Sotho class-9 demonstrative *le-*. In any case, the boy produced a class hetero-concordance (i.e. the concord agreement of a noun in one class with dependents in another) on the demonstrative, as the noun is class 7. Yet it is clear that the sentence reads: ‘I stepped on that mud here.’ Again, the young boy may have used the Sotho noun to fill a gap in his command of Zulu lexicon. In any case, the use of the Sotho prefix *se-* in a Zulu sentence constitutes a violation of the system morpheme principle, according to which one would have expected a Zulu prefix *si-*. An early system morpheme is exchanged.

Example 7.51

Yei phuma-ni la. Ha ke batl -e ba-na mona
EXCL. GO OUT.IMP-PL ADV NEG 1S WANT-NEG.FV C2-CHILD DEM1.18
Get out of here. I don't want children here

Example 7.51 above is meant to illustrate that alternations from Zulu to Sotho are not only done by children. This example comes from an elderly woman, unidentified, who chased the children from a block of concrete where they like to sit, next to her gate and just inside her yard.

Example 7.52

U-nga-mu-tshel-i. Ke tla o w -is -a
2S-AUX-3S-TELL-NEG.FV 1S FUT 2S FALL-CAUS-FV
Don't tell him. I will make you fall

Example 7.52 above features an intersentential alternation, from Zulu to Sotho. But it also features a more striking feature: the use of the class-1 object prefix *mu-* or *mo-* (according to either Zulu or Sotho spelling) used in the Zulu sentence. This prefix is Sotho, and the sentence in Zulu should appear as *ungamtsheli* with the object prefix reduced to *-m-*. This is an example of a late outsider system morpheme from the source language (Sotho) which is included in a verbal phrase in

the base language (Zulu), violating the system morpheme principle. The proximity of the Zulu and Sotho pronouns in terms of phonology is obviously a factor in this example, as well as their syntactic and functional congruence. The same object prefix *mu-* appears in Zulu phrases a dozen times in the transcripts, particularly from Transcript 6.

Example 7.53

Li-phi *lela* -komishi o-wu-ngi-khel-e nga -lo
 C5-WHERE DEM.5-MUG REL-2S -1S-DRAW WATER-PST.FV INSTR-ABS.5
Where is that mug you drew water with for me?

Example 7.53 comes from a mother addressing her seven-year-old daughter. The sentence features the Sotho demonstrative *lela-* chosen over its Zulu equivalent *ela-*. The motivation for this choice is unclear, but as the family uses both Sotho and Zulu, it is possible that the feature only reflects common usage in the household (see next example, from the same family). In any case, in this example, another late outsider system morpheme from Sotho is used in Zulu syntax. As such this example violates the system morpheme principle. Furthermore, in this example, one cannot suspect a potential learner's mistake: it was uttered by an adult lady who has been fluent in Zulu for a long time, and who speaks it every day. In addition, the mixed form was addressed to the lady's daughter, in an instance of parenting, while the rest of the recording shows that the mother takes care to speak a respectable language to her daughter.

Example 7.54

O tla *ni* bol-ell-a.
 2S FUT 2PL TELL-APPL-FV
He will tell you (pl.)

Example 7.54 is in Sotho, but it contains a borrowed 2nd person plural object prefix *ni-* from Zulu. This prefix is equivalent to a pronoun, and as noted earlier, pronouns are considered core lexicon, and they are considered, in historical linguistics, to be rarely borrowed from one language to another. Yet here the grandmother, addressing her granddaughter, and speaking about me and the purpose of the recording, makes use of the Zulu object prefix. She should have used the Sotho prefix *le*. Once more, a late outsider system morpheme from the source language, Zulu, is used in the base language, Sotho.

This example is another violation of the system morpheme principle, and it was produced by the

mother of the woman speaking in example 7.53 above, also while addressing the young girl. It confirms that the violation of the MLF principles is not accidental, but rather reflects an accepted norm in the family.

Example 7.55

O re *la*, o re la *phela*?
 2s SAY THERE 2s SAY THERE REAL
You said there, you said there really?

Example 7.55 features a Sotho sentence in which two Zulu adverbs, *la* and *phela*, are inserted. The example comes from the same three-year-old boy mentioned in examples 7.50 and 7.52; it is difficult to know what the motivation is. But the example reflects the way the boy mixes Zulu and Sotho, very naturally, when interacting with older boys. There is no reason to suspect here a gap in the boy's knowledge of Sotho: the two adverbs are well known to him in both languages.

Example 7.56

Ø-i -gama la-kho e-ndlu-ng le?
 COP-C5-NAME C5.POSS-2S.PRON LOC-HOUSE-LOC DEM.C5
It is your home name this one? (the name you use at home)

Example 7.56 is from an eight-year-old boy addressing a three-year-old boy, and it was part of Extract 8 in Chapter 6. It features a remarkable case of mix in locative affixes. The class-9 noun *indlu* 'house' becomes in Zulu *endlwini* in the locative form (though most people in White City would say *endlweni*). In Sotho, the noun would be *ntlu*, with a zero prefix, and its locative form would be *konthung*. Here, the Zulu prefix *e-* is preserved, but the suffix *-ng* from Sotho has been used by the boy. Both affixes must be considered bridge late system morphemes. This example does not feature a change in the structure of the locative, i.e. it does not affect the morpheme order principle, but it clearly contradicts the system morpheme principle, as again half of the locative system morphemes is from the source language. Also, the example features a non-standard demonstrative *le* (referring to *igama*) for class 5. It should appear as *leli*.

Example 7.57

Ke bale ba j-a di -ice. Yo u-ya-jabul-a!
 COP DEM.C2 C2 EAT-FV C10-ICE EXCL. 2S-PRST.DISJUNC-REJOICE-FV
 Yi -ni ba -ya-wa-di-manga?
 COP-WHAT C2-PRST-C6-C10-CRUSH

There they are eating ice. Yo you're happy. What are they crushing it for?

Several points from example 7.57 need clarification. First, the verb *-manga* could be understood and translated by my assistant, but its origin is unclear. As such the translation has been entirely dependent on my assistant. Furthermore, the utterance features an alternation from Sotho to Zulu between two sentences. More interestingly, an alternation occurs within the last phrase, with the use of two object prefixes together, *-a-* from Zulu (class 6, the form *-wa-* is used to avoid two vowels following each other) and *-di-* from Sotho (class 10). The noun *ice* would appear as *ama-ice* in Zulu, as class 6, and *di-ice* in Sotho, as class 10. These two classes are the normal way to describe uncountable objects in each language. However it is not the Zulu class which is problematic, but the use of two prefixes from two different languages, and two different classes to express it. This example, although less clear than the previous ones, and probably reflecting a single occurrence of self-correction rather than a social practice, cannot be explained by the MLF model. In addition, the girl is correcting *-wa-* with *-di-*. This indicates that she meant to say *bayadimanga*, in accordance with the noun *di-ice* used before. This target structure is a clear violation of the system morpheme principle, with an exchange in late outsider system morphemes.

Another non-standard feature appears in the aspect²⁹ of the verbal phrase *baya(wa)dimanga*. Standard Zulu would require *be-wa-manga* in the simultaneous/situative/participial aspect, indicated by the use of *be-* instead of *ba-*, and by the fact that the disjunctive morpheme *-ya-* would not occur, since there is no conjunctive/disjunctive distinction in the situative.

Example 7.58

Ku-khona aba-nye ' -bobo a-yi-two e-yo -ku -khiph-a
 IMP-HERE C2-OTHER C10-HOLE C6-COP-TWO PRONOMINALIZER.-C9.POS-INF-TAKE OUT-FV
 um-twana n-e-yo -ku-cam-a
 C1-CHILD CONJ-PRONOMINALIZER-FUT-INF-PEE-FV

There are those two holes, the one for taking out (i.e. giving birth to) a baby and the one for peeing

Example 7.58 features several interesting traits. It was produced by a nine-year-old girl, in a group conversation about how babies are born. The noun *umtwana* is non-standard, and it is used instead of *umntwana*. The numeral adjective *two* is of course from English. But what is most striking is hetero-concordance in class agreement. The noun *bobo* stands for *izimbobo*, or *iimbombo*, class 10. But the agreement on the adjective *abanye* 'others' is done with class 2 (*aba-*). In addition,

²⁹I thank Derek Gowlett for this analysis.

the second agreement on the numeral adjective *two* is marked with class 6 (*α-*). This sentence is strikingly anti-grammatical, and the repeated hetero-concordance cannot be explained by mistakes.

Example 7.58 is not the only example, in the data, of this phenomenon of deliberate hetero-concordance which is identified by Gunnink (2012:54-55) as a stylistic feature of Iscamtho used by teenagers (here class 10 is not used on the dependents, but on the noun itself, which is different from what she observed), but it is the clearest and most deliberate example. However its occurrence is in no way related to Iscamtho, which is not used by the girls in this particular conversation. Here, the girl may have used improper concord as stylisation, due to the topic of the discussion. In local African cultures, human genital anatomy is taboo, and should not normally be discussed in public, or in a loud manner. But this example was uttered on the street, in the peer group, with no attempt from the girl to lower her voice. Hence, stylisation through syntactic modification should be understood as a strategy, to render the utterance more informal, and to distance the speaker from the topic. It also demonstrates that deliberate syntactic manipulation is not reserved to situations of language mix. The complex noun classification system in Bantu languages, allows speakers to take control of the syntactic system, so as to modify the semantic or semiotic value of the words used, and take control of the topic being discussed.

Furthermore, the elision of the class-10 subject prefix on *iimbobo* cannot be due to the natural rules of agglutination in Zulu, which would result in the last vowel of *abanye* being elided, and the next noun prefix being preserved. One can also consider that the elision is part of the stylisation, or that it is due to a lack of congruence with the former class-2 prefix. In this case, eliding the subject prefix may avoid incongruence, which exemplifies another mechanism to construct congruence, as proposed by Sebba (1998).

Example 7.59

Voetsek um-sunu wa hao!

PISS OFF, C1-CLITORIS C1.POS 2S.PRON

Piss off, your cunt (equivalent to jou poes!, a common insult from Afrikaans)

Example 7.59 is meant to illustrate the fact that it is sometimes impossible to decide what language is being spoken. In this example, the first word, *voetsek*, is an imperative verb from Afrikaans; the second, *umsunu*, is a noun from Zulu, featuring a class-1 prefix *um-*; and the third is a possessive from Sotho, *wa hao*. The system morpheme in the possessive, *wa*, is made of the class 1 prefix *w-* and the possessive particle *-a*. As a system morpheme, it could belong equally to either Zulu or Sotho. In the first case, only the possessive pronoun *hao* (a late system morpheme) is

borrowed, while in the second, it is the full possessive *wa hao* (including an outsider bridge system morpheme and a late outsider system morpheme). Both possibilities are equally likely, and both are in clear violation of the system morpheme principle.

Conclusion:

In this chapter I have presented 59 examples of data. Several points have been analysed, including:

1. the use of stable transfers *why* and *so*;
2. the use of colour adjectives from English;
3. the use of numerals from English;
4. the use of full English phrases as borrowed nouns;
5. the particular use of the borrowing *one*;
6. the use of class 7 in the borrowing of English nouns starting with an s-;
7. the production of innovative structures by grammatical transfer from English to Zulu;
8. the remarkable structures produced by the interaction of Zulu and Sotho.

More particularly, I have presented a number of structures that strongly contradict the MLF model, and its assumptions of universal and absolute structural constraints from the base language syntax, onto the output of language contact. The most fundamental concept of the model, i.e. the system morpheme principle, has been disproved. In addition, one example (7.46) contradicted the morpheme order principle. Therefore I have justified my choice to not use the concept of ‘matrix’ language, as it is not an appropriate reflection of the possibilities offered to the speakers in mixing languages. I have also demonstrated that language mix can occur, and does occur, within verb and noun phrases.

I have also shown that if language mix between Zulu and Sotho is more often displayed by children, adults use it too, including in the family context. Finally, I have proven that the adults’ language is not in essence different from the children’s, as they produce the same kind of alternations, including grammatical morpheme mixing. This applies to structures violating the MLF model, which were transmitted by a mother and a grandmother, to their daughter and granddaughter. The concluding chapter, Chapter 8, will sum up the theoretical points noted in Chapter 2 which the data can inform us about. Each point will be analysed in regard to the data, to draw all the consequences of the above examples on the theory of language contact.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

To conclude the analysis presented in this thesis, it is necessary to relate the data presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 with the theory presented in Chapters 2 and 3. In the following sections, I present the conclusions which can be drawn from comparing data and theory, in order to answer the most salient questions about the nature of Iscamtho, its sociolinguistic status and the mixed variety that supports it.

In Section 1, I present my conclusions regarding the nature of Iscamtho, and its sociolinguistic status. In Section 2, I present my conclusions on the ideologies which are revealed about Iscamtho and mixed speech in the data, and their relations to variations in the local mixed variety through slang register and style. I also discuss the social meaning of Iscamtho. In Section 3, I present my conclusions regarding the linguistic structure of the mixed variety, its particular features born out of language contact, and the effect of style on structure. I reflect on what the analysis presented in this thesis can teach us about the theoretical principles of language contact studies, and language change. In the conclusion of this chapter, I discuss the consequences of my findings regarding theoretical and methodological practices in the field of contact linguistics.

1. Iscamtho Redefined: its Nature and Status

Previous works presented in Chapter 3 proposed a number of conclusions about Iscamtho, which were sometimes contradictory. The following paragraphs list the points requiring comparison with the data. Each point is compared with the results of the data analysis, and they are discussed accordingly.

On the Linguistic Nature of Iscamtho

The most important point raised in this thesis regarding Iscamtho, is about the issue of its linguistic nature, either as a ‘CS variety’ or a corpus of slang lexicon. This point was illustrated in the first three chapters in particular, with mentions of works by several authors:

- Childs (1997:357; see Chapter 3, page 74) considered Iscamtho to be “neither a relexified form of Tsotsitaal nor simply a Zulu slang,” and who also considered that both aspects were relevant. He saw Iscamtho as a mixed or hybrid variety;

- Myers-Scotton and associated researchers such as Slabbert, Finlayson or Calteaux, saw in

Iscamtho a CS variety, which conforms to local and universal patterns of CS according to the MLF model (Slabbert & Myers-Scotton 1997; see Chapter 3, page 71 *et seq.*), and which results from strategic choices by speakers in a multilingual context (see Finlayson, Calteaux & Myers-Scotton 1998:396; see Chapter 3, page 77);

- Mesthrie and Hurst stressed the nature of Iscamtho as slang lexicon (Mesthrie 2008, Mesthrie & Hurst 2010; see Chapter 3, pages 68 and 75), and its relation to African urban male style (Hurst 2010 and Hurst & Mesthrie 2013; see Chapter 3 page 68, and pages 75 *et seq.*).

- Gunnink (2012) remarked that new stylistic variations in syntax are practised by teenage male speakers of Iscamtho, which led her to conclude that Iscamtho in Soweto is more than just lexicon. She specifically referred to instances of hetero-concordance (Gunnink 2012:54; see Chapter 3, pages 68 and 75).

Regarding the nature of Iscamtho, Chapter 6 shows that Mesthrie's (2008) conclusion that tsotsitaals are made of slang lexicon was justified. Yet in the statistical analysis (Chapter 6 Section 1), it was shown that the use of Iscamtho words is not strictly tied to a slang register, although this is the case most of the time. The analysis of the Iscamtho terms used (chapter 6 Section 2) also shows the word class affiliation of Iscamtho terms as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Their meanings and, when possible, their origins were described. No particular link was established between syntactic features, or language mix, and the use of Iscamtho slang terms. I gave a detailed analysis of the changing status of certain Iscamtho items, which have penetrated the local neutral register.

In Chapters 5 and 6, I showed that Iscamtho is to be distinguished from mixed speech, which is the basis on which Iscamtho slang relies. Hence Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1997) were mistaken in concluding that Iscamtho is a CS variety. Rather, mixed speech is used in a similar way by young children, older children, but also adults, teenagers and elders. In addition, the use of mixed speech is no way submitted to gender, domain or setting factors. In Chapters 5 and 6, I presented examples of the transmission of borrowed terms and phrases, from young children to even younger ones (Example 5.10 for instance, page 118), and from mothers to children (Extract 1, page 151; and Extract 9, page 169), which confirms the status of the mixed variety as a native variety.

Another aspect of the nature of Iscamtho, which should be restricted to White City, was also shown: the term *tsotsi* – as Tsotsitaal, isiTsotsi, seTsotsi – does not have the same meaning for girls and boys. In this regard, extracts 6 (page 161) and 7 (page 164) revealed that girls understand *tsotsi* as referring to a certain masculine style, involving slang, the use of Afrikaans, many emphatic

discourse markers and a rather macho display. The display of masculinity was even reflected in the fact that the girls in question changed their voices and tone. To these girls, a *tsotsitaal* is a caricature of a male urban style, but the Iscamtho terms used are those that were used by the children in other recordings. On the other hand, extracts 4 (page 157) and 5 (page 159) showed that young boys have a different understanding of the concept: when asked to speak *tsotsi*, they displayed, as best as they could, a criminal style, which although masculine and rough as in the girls' caricature, is very distinct from the local slang. The lexicon used and the themes discussed in particular are very different. As such, the 'cool' Iscamtho slang may be referred to as *tsotsi* by girls who do not use it extensively among themselves. But it would be referred to as Iscamtho or Ringas by boys. To boys, *tsotsi* refers to a criminal sub-culture, which has not been referred to in any way in the girls' speech.

Regarding Gunnink's (2012) proposition that Iscamtho as style is not limited to lexicon, I have analysed examples of deliberate hetero-concordance, particularly example 7.58 (page 196) which is tied to style. But this example did not contain Iscamtho, and did not appear in speech that had a direct link with the use of Iscamtho. This example cannot lead me to extend the definition of Iscamtho among White City children, and in this light I retain Mesthrie's (2008) definition of *tsotsitaal* as slang lexicon. Examples of hetero-concordance among children, although not tied to Iscamtho, do not contradict the possibility of an association of stylistically motivated structural transformation with Iscamtho, in the speech of teenagers or young adults. Further research on this point would be necessary. But they contradict the idea that the use of Iscamtho is necessarily tied to syntactic manipulations.

Regarding Iscamtho's nature, Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1997:330; see Chapter 3, page 73) acknowledged that Iscamtho terms borrowed from several languages differ from CS, considering that they are used with a new meaning, even when their form remains unchanged after borrowing. Also, they noted that Iscamtho features many terms from unknown origins. But to these authors, Iscamtho is primarily characterised by its multilingual character. Yet, I demonstrated in Chapter 6 (Section 1) that Iscamtho is not particularly tied to multilingualism. Table 6.2 (page 138) revealed that in the children's speech, only 47 turns were counted as featuring borrowed lexicon and Iscamtho together. Furthermore, only 3 turns featuring Iscamtho lexicon also featured an alternation in the base language of speech. I stressed (see page 139) that more than two thirds of utterances containing Iscamtho in the children's speech were monolingual. In other words, the proportion of mixed speech in Iscamtho speech is the same as in the general speech of the children.

Finally, the origins of Iscamtho terms described in Chapter 6 Section 2, suggest that Iscamtho is not in nature a criminal slang: although many terms of unknown origin may reflect a form of Nguni slang, which could have originated in criminal argot, most can be tied to either informal varieties of Afrikaans, English slang or Standard English. The hypothesis developed by Mesthrie and Hurst (2010) about Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho as being born of contact in mining towns, seems even more convincing after my analysis of the Iscamtho data. The presence of these terms indicates that the first speakers of Iscamtho must have been in close contact with white or coloured workers who used many slang terms from English and Afrikaans. It also indicates that English was possibly more important as a source of lexicon than Afrikaans, in early times. The fact that Iscamtho is primarily used in monolingual turns may reflect the fact that the first speakers were Nguni speakers. But no element of speech suggests that these early speakers were tied more to the criminals who created Shalambombo, than to industry or mine workers. Considering the factors mentioned here, Iscamtho appears more like an urban rather than a criminal slang.

Regarding Iscamtho's Sociolinguistic Status

As described in Chapters 1 and 3, so far Iscamtho has been considered mainly as a young adult male street language, fit for the peer group on informal topics. Previous conclusions about Iscamtho's sociolinguistic status were presented:

- Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1997:320-321; see Chapter 3, page 81) consider that Iscamtho is mainly meant for expressing common urban identity. They also consider that it is a male variety, expressing equal status.

- Rüdwick (2005:312; see Chapter 3, pages 80-81) postulates that isiTsotsi must be spoken in Umlazi homes, though she is uncertain of its extent in this domain. She also considers (Rüdwick 2005:307; see Chapter 3, page 77) that tsotsitaals are not only meant for stressing group identity, but enable the crossing of group boundaries, while remaining context-dependent in their form and meaning.

- Childs (1997:346; see Chapter 3, page 77) remarks that Iscamtho fulfils both 'separatist' and 'unifying' functions. That is, speakers want to learn it, and are happy or proud to speak it, because it can mark, alternately or at the same time, their difference from others, or their common identity.

- Hurst (2008; see Chapter 3, page 57) sees in Tsotsitaal a stylect, which is the reflection of African urban masculinity in linguistic and extra-linguistic style. She posits that this stylect is used by teenage and adult males to express their identity and differentiate themselves, as being young,

urban, black and male, but also as streetwise and city-slick.

- Mufwene (2001:189, see Chapter 3, page 76) considers that Iscamtho, being a ‘secret lingua franca,’ does not share the communicative functions of other varieties. Hence it is not a threat to the stability of Nguni languages.

- Dube (1992; see Chapter 3, pages 78 and 79) acknowledges that the ‘Sowetan mixture’ contains Iscamtho and Tsotsitaal terms, and that it has achieved the status of home language over standard languages.

Regarding the sociolinguistic status of Iscamtho, and its position in the local linguistic landscape, I showed in Chapter 6 a number of points which correct previous assumptions. First, I have shown, using the statistical analysis, that Iscamtho, as used by children, does not match its previous analyses as a young adult male street language. Indeed, it is used by girls and boys, at least from seven years of age up. Among younger girls, no use of Iscamtho was recorded, but the data sample was limited, and the use of certain stylistic features originating in Iscamtho, such as nicknames, was noted. Among younger boys, Iscamtho was used in interactions with older boys and male teenagers, and it was shown to be motivated by an adaptation to, and an emulation of their slang.

Furthermore, as shown in Table 6.4 (page 140) and Table 6.5 (page 141), while Iscamtho is used by the children mainly in the street and in non-supervised settings, utterances containing Iscamtho were also produced in the yard, in the house or at the shop, and several others were produced while the children were under the supervision of adult women, adult men, and even elderly women.

As such, Iscamtho’s sociolinguistic status needs to be reconsidered. It is not restricted to adults or males. It is not restricted to the street either. It is not even disapproved of in the home setting, and supervising adults do not take offense at it, nor do they try to stop the children from using it. It appears, rather, that the status (and meaning) of Iscamtho in the local landscape is that of an informal low register, that does not lead to reprobation in informal settings, although it is avoided in more formal settings. This status seems quite similar to other instances of slang in urban settings, and does not match the idea of a ‘street language.’ The limited use of slang in the house, for instance, has more to do with the fact that speakers are raised to show more respect in the family home, than with slang being taboo in the house. Also, the fact that Iscamtho is mainly used by males must be balanced with observations of cultural gender ideologies: men are, in Soweto, and more largely in African societies and others, subject to fewer constraints regarding their speech or their social

behaviour, than women. This pattern may be more relevant as a general frame for slang use in urban settings, than as a particular trait that would define Iscamtho as a male variety.

Regarding the people involved in interactions containing Iscamtho, Table 6.6 (page 142) shows that younger children use it more with older children than with their age-mates. This reflects patterns of transmission and interaction, between the older children and the younger ones. Among older children, however, the use of Iscamtho appears to be a peer group practice, as older girls used it with their older girl peers, and older boys with their older boy peers. Remarkably, Iscamtho was also used by children when speaking to themselves (i.e speaking alone), which reflects the intimate relationship of the children with Iscamtho. Overall, Iscamtho seems to be given the status of peer group variety, as was proposed before in the case of adult males. But peer behaviour around Iscamtho has been extended to girls (see the use as slang by girls in Transcript 6, lines 105; 241; 304), even though in limited quantity outside of caricature display.

Regarding topics, Table 6.7 (page 143) stresses that a large variety of topics can lead to using Iscamtho terms, and that, more particularly, Iscamtho was also used when discussing the recorder and participating in role-playing. Role-playing includes instances of 'Crime-related' and 'Taxi' talks, two domains which led to the use of many Iscamtho terms. This confirms the fact that the children use Iscamtho from an early age and are intimately connected to it: it is part of their games and appears in instances where peer bonding is stressed. This seems to reflect the reproduction, among children, of the patterns of Iscamtho use previously identified among adults. Further research would be necessary to identify all the domains favouring the use of Iscamtho.

Regarding the transmission of Iscamtho, examples of Iscamtho terms being used by adult males towards the children were counted (Extract 9, page 169), which reflects trans-generational use, as well as transmission. However, evidence was given of older children and young teenagers using Iscamtho, either in the presence of young children (see example 6.1, page 136), or when addressing them (Extract 4, page 157; and Extract 5, page 159). This was shown to be the main way for young children (males especially) to learn and practise Iscamtho. These may try to emulate slang and style from older children, and even to compete with them. Among instances of adults using Iscamtho in the presence of children, none were produced by adult women. This confirms that among adults, males are still the typical Iscamtho users and, more particularly, they are the legitimate speakers who transmit Iscamtho to the children. It seems that adult women, mothers in particular, choose a different way in transmitting language to their children. However, the women's way is far from being standard, as reflected in their speech in Zulu and Sotho.

Finally, in Chapter 6 Section 2, I presented the case of Iscamtho terms whose socio-linguistic

status has changed, or has been changing. Currency terms (*klipa*, *pondo*...) especially have been shown to no longer reflect strict slang register. Rather, they have become iconic of local speech, and they are used in many settings by most people.

Iscamtho's sociolinguistic status in White City does not appear to be that of a street language, or a male language. Instead, the low slang register has rooted in the local society, and many terms have penetrated the local neutral register. In the current perspective, Iscamtho's position is not essentially different from that of any other slang.

Mufwene was certainly right to say that Iscamtho is no threat to Nguni languages. But this is not because Iscamtho is a 'secret lingua franca.' Rather, it is because, as a limited corpus of slang words, Iscamtho cannot be a threat to the structure of Nguni languages. Mufwene also accepted the vision of Iscamtho as a mixed variety. Since he did not perceive that the mixed variety is very much a lingua franca, and that it is native rather than secret, he did not measure the gap separating Soweto Zulu from Standard Zulu.

2. The social Context of Iscamtho: Ideologies, Registers and Style

This section compares the literature presented in Chapter 3 about ideologies and their effects on language, with the data presented in Chapters 5 to 6. In Chapter 3 Section 1, where I presented the concept of language ideology, I insisted on the fact that ideologies can be seen in behaviours (see page 51).

Mixing Languages or Speaking a Mixed Language?

In previous literature, assumptions were made about ideologies driving the use of Iscamtho as well as mixed speech (then confused with Iscamtho), among urban speakers. To Finlayson, Calteaux and Myers-Scotton (1998:396, see page 77), speakers make choices to speak one way or another, according to how each way is 'indexed' in the local field: that is, according to different values which the speaker would like to associate with, and which are known, in that context, to be tied to one way of speaking. The authors also stress the fact that the speakers they observed in Tembisa, maintain 'loyalty' to their mother tongue. They also assumed (Finlayson, Calteaux & Myers-Scotton 1998:399, see page 79) that parents spoke to their children in their own ethnic language. What must be concluded from the data about language choices, deliberate style, mother tongues and potential

In Chapters 5 and 6, I have shown that the use of mixed speech can seldom be related to any motivations, as assumed in Myers-Scotton's markedness model. Often, the context would be assumed not to induce mixed speech. Hence, Extract 1 (page 151) showed the use of a mixed variety of Zulu, including Afrikaans and English terms, by a mother and an adult brother addressing a seven-year-old boy. Also, mixed speech including Afrikaans and English was used by a mother, addressing her four- and two-year-old daughters, as shown in Extract 9 (page 169). Mixed language dominated by Zulu was also observed consistently in the speech of a mother (Transcript 1) and a father (Transcript 5), for whom Zulu is not a heritage language. It was also very present in the speech of females from three generations, in a family of Sotho descent (Transcript 6). This contradicts the conclusions made in Tembisa by Finlayson, Calteaux and Myers-Scotton (1998), who considered that parents were using their 'first' language in the home, and would teach the children a proper, if not standard, version of it.

I also showed that many words, and even full phrases, originating in Afrikaans and English, are used by the youngest children, whom the parents address also with these borrowed elements (Chapter 5, Section 1; and Chapter 6, Section 3). Such words and phrases cannot be considered to be actively borrowed or switched to, as they are part of the children's native speech as early as the age of two to three years old. On a few occasions, styling has been noticeable, as in the case of the three-year-old boy competing with older boys. The same boy displayed mixed speech with Zulu and Sotho, which can also be explained by his then limited knowledge of Zulu. But for the rest, mixed speech was neither styling, nor adapting or accommodating. The proportions of mixed speech from the children did not significantly change according to any of the studied factors, i.e. gender, languages, registers, settings, supervision, addresses or topics. Consequently, the idea proposed in the markedness model according to which speakers must be fluent in the languages involved in CS (in order to make choices), does not seem adequate. Even the hypothesis of CS as the 'unmarked choice' does not seem valid, as there is seldom any choice in the use of mixed speech: the children speak what they know how to speak, and that is a mixed variety. Assumptions about motivated multilingual choice seem mostly irrelevant. However, particular structural features, such as Iscamtho in the speech of girls, or hetero-concordance in Zulu syntax, were shown to be tied to stylistic considerations. Hence the markedness model potentially applying to features of speech other than its mixed elements.

Ideological Stabilisation Process

Deumert's point (2005:125; see Chapter 2, page 28), relying on Auer (1999), about the weakening of contextualisation cues over time, and about the process leading from CS to a stable mixed variety, is confirmed. It is necessary to try to understand what the ideologies produced by this process are. Both mixed speech and Iscamtho could be considered to have once been contextualisation cues.

It is clear from the data that parents do not disapprove of the use of Iscamtho, at least if it remains modest in frequency. It does not seem to be tied to ideas of impropriety or antisocial positioning. Rather, it appears to be accepted as a local feature, and its use in public as well as private informal settings is not formally restrained. This even seems to apply to the children: although they have uttered little Iscamtho in the presence of adults, only one case was recorded of seven- to nine-year-old girls who were worried that the level of their speech would lead to reprobation from adults. In all other cases, the children felt free to speak as they wished, including using Iscamtho.

As such, it is necessary to try to deduce when and how change in ideologies occurred in White City, allowing Iscamtho to develop as a natural low register for most people, in most settings, even though possibly limited in quantity. I argued in Chapter 3 (page 56) that Iscamtho must have lost its anti-linguistic or criminal values from the very beginning when it started to spread in Soweto. This argument relies on testimonies from men and women in their sixties, which I gathered in formal interviews along my fieldwork, and on the many testimonies gathered in White City from young adults in 2007 (Aycard 2008). In these testimonies, interviewees claimed Iscamtho as their native language, or as part of their native language. They also claimed that they acquired it at a young age, from their fathers and uncles in particular. This tends to confirm that the generations of people who are now in their thirties up to their early sixties were exposed not only to mixed speech, but also to Iscamtho, in the home environment, in the same limited proportions as those observed in the data.

The analysis presented in this thesis has exposed patterns that match such a claim. But as the use of Iscamtho by children at home seems minimal, and was seldom observed from adults, one could conclude that the penetration of Iscamtho in the home setting, although real, has not increased over the last three generations. Showing that White City children use Iscamtho should therefore not lead to a direct conclusion about the fact that the position of Iscamtho in White City's linguistic landscape is changing. Before such a conclusion can be proposed, further research is necessary, including historical research in audio and video archives, to assess when change in status occurred. But as the status of Iscamtho among White City children is not different from the status that young

and older adults testified to, I cannot support the idea that the use of Iscamtho by White City children is a recent development.

The practice of Iscamtho by boys and girls should be compared with Hurst's (2008; see Chapter 3, pages 58 and 59) definition of a stylect. It appears that to young girls, Iscamtho is a vector of style, and it seems to be the same style identified by Hurst in Cape Town. However, the style is not serious: it is a caricature. Thus, it appears that if Iscamtho in Soweto was once an urban male stylect, this is no longer the case. Only the stereotype of the stylect has been maintained, and its use caused laughter among the girls. Today, Iscamtho appears to be common slang, reflecting the practices and urban identity of local speakers, while particular styles are expressed differently. Also present in the data are a few examples of girls using Iscamtho as slang rather than style (see transcript 6, lines 105; 241; 304).

Ideological and Sociolinguistic Consequences of Shared Words

In Chapter 5 (Section 2) and Chapter 7, I presented the case of content and grammatical words from English and Afrikaans which are used natively by the children, transmitted from the parents, and which are therefore part of all local varieties. I argued that, in White City, these words do not belong to one particular language but, rather, they are Zulu, Sotho and English or Afrikaans, all at once. Examples of such words are *why*, *so*, *niks*, *mara*, but one could also add common Iscamtho terms to this list, as well as terms with a changing status. I showed in Chapter 6 that Iscamtho is used in Zulu and Sotho, as are English or Afrikaans borrowings.

This relates to a concept that Woolard (1998b) proposed to explain the extended possibilities offered by the dual nature of certain words in a context of bilingualism. She coined the term bivalency to describe "the use by a bilingual of words or segments that could 'belong' equally, descriptively and even prescriptively, to both codes" (Woolard 1998b:7). In the case of Soweto's multilingualism, one should rather speak of multivalency, as one item can belong equally to more than two varieties: at least Zulu, Sotho and English. In addition, in the Sowetan setting, multivalency is induced by the transfer of elements from one variety to the neighbouring one, through contact and slang, whereas Woolard observed the natural proximity between Castilian and Catalan, two related Romance languages of Spain.

There is a linguistic and social dimension to multivalency: from the linguistic perspective, by constructing bridges between varieties, multivalent items increase the similarity between the different languages of Soweto. For instance, a 'why' question will be structured similarly in Zulu, Sotho and English, with the same question word *why* starting the sentence. Similar elements allow

speakers to communicate more quickly in a diversity of languages, as they can cope with multivalent items instead of having to master numerous different features. From the sociological perspective, these make mutual identification of speakers of different languages easier, as differences are balanced by the similar words used, which also reveal local belonging. Hence whether you speak Zulu or Sotho, the use of words shared locally makes you a member of a local linguistic community.

Multivalency is the key to including members of several language communities into one single speech and social community. It is a way of lessening multilingual complexity in speech as well as relationships, and of bringing unity to local mixed speech: unity of social identity to the speakers, and similarity of linguistic patterns to their languages. These characteristics were once attributed to Iscamtho (Childs 1997; Slabbert & Myers-Scotton 1997), but as Iscamtho is not mixed speech, multivalency seems to be a more accurate concept in describing the local experience. Being used in the mixed variety, and together with stylistic and multivalent strategies, Iscamtho is thus at the same time a style (in girls' speech), and a cross-language and cross-identity slang register (in boys' and girls' speech). Although Iscamtho does not guarantee mutual understanding across languages, it creates a feeling of common identity.

Regarding children, multivalency is not practised as a strategy. Rather, they use multivalent items as part of their native variety. But multivalency is the relevant concept that explains how borrowings stabilised in at least two local varieties (Zulu and Sotho). Multivalency results in different languages in Soweto using shared words, with the same semantic value, with or without preserving their grammatical value. Such items can traditionally be considered to be borrowings. But the fact that they were borrowed in several varieties at once makes them multivalent. Their use by young children, however, implies that there is no deliberate choice to alternate between identified codes in the production of mixed speech. Instead, children's multilingual utterances mostly reflect typical multivalent items, used in all languages in Soweto, and systematically present in urban speech in White City – even though some may only appear in slang forms, which are also used across languages.

As one generation used multivalent items in a style perspective, the next one learned them as part of everyday language, and items made multivalent by style became part of children's native repertoire. Whether multilingual acquisition takes place from birth or in the following years, the native knowledge of a term will increase the child's ability to understand 'natively' the local diversity of languages. Consequently, these elements learnt from birth come to be identified equally with a diversity of languages: they are Zulu, English, Sotho and possibly Iscamtho. Later on, as

children become more aware of languages and learn about the social rules of language, they learn how to comply with the rules as well as to disregard them. The existence of multivalent words offers the possibility of a strategy of multivalency, allowing speakers to adapt more easily to the constraints of a multilingual society.

The consequence of this social pattern of language contact is that most forms of mixing, or forms of styling and slanging through Iscamtho, are actually unmarked, or hardly marked, in the situation in which they occur. Once an item has been included in the different local varieties, together sometimes with the structure that the item conveys (see examples 7.1 to 7.12; pages 181 and 182), a form of congruent lexicalisation (Muysken 1997) can be observed: different varieties are now using the same structure and the same item. Hence multivalency, originally a stylistic strategy, can also become a mechanism of language change.

Consequently, another concept of language contact studies becomes relevant in describing the effects of multilingualism in White City (and Soweto): the concept of *Sprachbund* (Trubetzkoy 1923; Jakobson 1931), or language union, refers to the case of a group of neighbour languages, which remain distinct but develop parallel patterns through contact. It can concern idiomatic, structural, lexical, morphological or phonological patterns. White City in particular, or Soweto in general, may be qualified as *Sprachbünde*. Stylistic strategies of multivalency are one of the factors that allowed the Soweto *Sprachbund* to emerge within a century. It may be necessary to investigate whether multivalency was influential in other contexts where a *Sprachbund* was identified.

The development of multivalent words, the possibility of strategies of multivalency, and the development of a *Sprachbund* can all participate in the constitution of a local ideology of mixing. In this context, multilingual speech is not required for the purpose of accommodation towards local speakers. On the contrary, multilingual elements in speech are also part of another local person's linguistic experience, and they create a feel of identity, even across languages. Only one example of a possible case of accommodation was observed in the data, with the eight- and nine-years-old boys who mixed Zulu and Sotho when addressing the three-year-old boy. Indeed, in Extract 8 (page 167), the older boys alternate from Zulu, which they use among themselves, to Sotho, as the boy is more fluent in Sotho/Tswana, which is the primary medium used in his family to teach him language. But the young boy also tries to match the older boys' tone and use of slang, and English. If the older boys show that they can be accommodating, the younger boy emulates them and adapts to their speech too. Apart from this interaction (a long one in Transcript 7), no clear examples of accommodation were presented. It is because the local variety and its slang are natural to local

speakers, and this is why outsiders may feel excluded. Accommodation by the use of a more standard variety would only be necessary with newcomers and outsiders.

3. The Local Mixed Variety: Language Contact and the Structure of Speech

I discussed language contact in Chapter 2. I raised the issue of what linguistic patterns can be observed in a situation of contact, and how these patterns relate to a particular social setting. Four main questions were set regarding language contact: are there universal structural constraints on this outcome? What is the role of social factors in language contact? Can CS lead to a stable mixed variety? Finally, what is the role of children in the emergence of this mixed variety? In what follows, I deal with each of these questions. Regarding the two first, I expand on the MLF model in particular.

On General Observations Regarding Language Contact

I presented in Chapter 2 Section 1 a number of general principles of language contact:

- Mougeon and Beniak (1991:211; see Chapter 2, page 22) remarked that logical connectors are among the first elements borrowed across languages.
- Myers-Scotton (2002:240; see Chapter 2, page 22) noted that nouns are more often borrowed than other elements, as they convey only content, and not structure. Hence their borrowing is easier, and the base language structure can remain the same.
- Heine and Kuteva (2005:14; see Chapter 2, page 20) reflected on the concept of grammatical transfer, and more particularly ‘grammaticalisation,’ in which a grammatical structure is transferred due to the borrowing of a word, which requires the structure.

The data provided evidence to confirm the three points above. First, regarding logical connectors, I gave evidence (see chapter 5, 6 and 7) that these are most often borrowed from either English (*and, for, or, plus ...*) or Afrikaans (*maar*). Often, a Zulu or Sotho equivalent is available, but speakers prefer to use the borrowing.

Secondly, regarding the grammatical function of borrowed words, in Chapter 5 (page 129 to 132) I gave a detailed count for English and Afrikaans borrowings. English borrowings were divided as: 142 nouns; 37 verbs; 23 adverbs; 16 adjectives; 6 discourse markers; 3 pronouns; and 4 conjunctions. Afrikaans borrowings were divided as: 8 adverbs; 5 nouns; 3 verbs; 3 adjectives; 3

discourse markers; and 1 conjunction. This confirms the fact that nouns are borrowed more often, followed by verbs, adverbs and adjectives. Yet, adverbs and adjectives, which bring in qualitative information about the content, are also borrowed often. The number of adjectives, although only just above 10% of the number of nouns, is more important than in the data referred to by Myers-Scotton (2002:132; see Chapter 2 page 43). This must be put in relation with the fact that Bantu languages have few adjectives. In addition, if one takes into account numeral adjectives, always borrowed from English, then borrowed adjectives are used by White City speakers almost as often as borrowed nouns, although fewer types were identified.

Furthermore, Myers-Scotton (1993a:139; see Chapter 2, page 45) remarked that in the Swahili data she studied, adjectives were used in a bare form. Such bare forms for adjectives have not been observed in the children's data, with only one case observed from adults (see Extract 9, page 169). Instead, the borrowed adjectives were used as predicatives and relatives, with class agreements. Hence Myers-Scotton's assumption about the effects of a lack of congruence between English adjectives and Bantu syntax is contradicted.

Thirdly, examples of grammaticalisation have been given (examples 7.43, 7.44, 7.45; see pages 188 to 190), following the borrowing of an English word. These examples are few and occurred only with English as the source language. This can be explained by the fact that Zulu and Sotho structures are similar enough to allow word borrowing. One of these examples (*fo kusasa*, example 7.44, page 189) was also shown to have produced a structure which Myers-Scotton assumed was impossible, due to a lack of congruence (*for wewe*; see page 45). Again, the assumption is contradicted.

On Universal Constraints over the Outcome of Language Contact

In Chapter 2 Section 2, I discussed the specific theory of CS, and the models that were proposed to explain it:

- CS was distinguished from borrowing on the basis that it is a one-time occurrence (Chapter 2, page 33).

- Auer (1995; Chapter 2 page 36) distinguished four patterns of CS: discourse-related CS; preference-related CS; CS for strategic ambiguity; and intra-clause CS, which does not change the language being spoken.

- Myers-Scotton proposed a rigid model of CS, subjected to the 'matrix' language. The model is described in Chapter 2 Section 2 (page 38 *et seq.*).

- Winford (2003; Chapter 2, page 44 and following) reviewed the model, noting cases of bare

forms and double morphology in particular, both of which remain unexplained by the MLF model.

- Gafaranga (2000; page 46) showed that the base language can be constructed as a particular mixed structure in a given conversation, and that it is then submitted to a social negotiation between the participants in the conversation.

- Sebba (1998; page 37) proposed a model of CS subjected to conditions of congruence, in which congruence is constructed by speakers on the basis of syntactic or semantic equivalence.

- Myers-Scotton (2002:130; see Chapter 2, page 43) proposed a general principle for Bantu languages, according to which borrowed words are included in a default class (not the same from one language to another), and bear a zero-noun prefix if included in another class.

As demonstrated in Section 2 above, CS among White City children does not reflect a process of speech production, in that multilingual elements are part of their native language. Hence, as explained in Chapter 2 (pages 30-31), it is more relevant to study code alternation as a structural output of language contact, rather than as a process of speech production, at least in White City. In the data, alternations are rarely a one-time occurrence, as in most cases they reflect a stable pattern in the local variety, whether or not they are phonologically and morphologically integrated. In this regard, the four patterns identified by Auer do not seem relevant to most of the data, since they refer to the motivation of deliberate language alternations, and not to the case where the native variety is mixed. In almost every case, there is no such process in the children's speech, but rather the use of a stable mixed variety. However, older speakers are aware of differences between languages, and their speech can often be analysed as CS, as well as a reflection of the local mixed speech variety.

Regarding the local mixed variety, are we dealing with a new 'language' that could be identified on the basis of new stable syntactic rules? Although patterns of language mix which are regular, widespread and transmitted across generations have been identified, I do not consider that a clearly identifiable new language has emerged, for at least three reasons. First, despite the predominance of mixed speech, pre-existing languages are still identifiable in speech, and they appear in monolingual sentences and discourses. Secondly, local speakers have an extended awareness of linguistic diversity, and while they can speak several registers and varieties for each language, they sometimes deliberately create mixed speech, which can then be classified as CS. Thirdly, society at large promotes linguistic diversity of a more traditional kind through the use of official languages. This is translated into standard languages being used in the media and at school, and into Bantu languages that do not appear in the public space being maintained among White City speakers, as in the case of traditional ceremonies. These three points consequently lead to variation in the use of different

varieties, and in the structure of mixed speech, for instance through the use of different base languages. Yet, mixed speech was proven to be acquired natively by White City children. If no stable and distinct new language can be identified, one can still consider that a local mixed way of using language constitutes the native experience shared by White City residents, around which their linguistic identities and ideologies are constructed.

I detailed the MLF model and showed that it relies on two fundamental principles (see Chapter 2, page 41): the system morpheme principle, which states that all system morphemes in multilingual speech come from one ‘matrix’ language; and the morpheme order principle, which states that the order of the system morphemes conforms to the syntax of the ‘matrix.’ These two principles are the necessary conditions for the existence of a ‘matrix’ language. Yet, Example 7.46 casts doubts about the morpheme order principle, while I showed (using examples 7.46, 7.47 7.52, 7.53, 7.54, 7.56 and 7.57; page 190 to 196) that the system morpheme principle can be violated, and that violations can even stabilise as an accepted norm within a family or a community. Among the violations observed, the following structures appeared:

- system morphemes were elided (noun prefix in example 7.46 and 7.47);
- system morphemes were borrowed for demonstratives (example 7.53) and object prefixes (examples 7.52, 7.54 and 7.57);
- system morphemes in locative noun-class affixes were borrowed (examples 7.56).

In these violations of the MLF model, Zulu and Sotho are always the two languages involved. In addition, examples 7.52, 7.53, 7.54 and 7.56 all reflect peculiar forms of mix that have become acceptable and occur regularly in the local mixed language. Example 7.53 and 7.54 were even shown to reflect stable practice in one family. Moreover, regarding locatives, example 7.56 was produced by an eight-year-old boy and addressed to a three-year-old. Gunnink (2012:57-59) observed the same kind of mixed locatives among male teenagers, which led her to conclude that it was part of the Iscamtho style. In the case of the children, no particular styling is associated with the mixed locative structure. Yet, considering the pattern presented in Section 2 to explain how Iscamtho and mixing styles have rooted in local practices, it seems possible that such structures appeared for styling purposes, and came to be used later by children, once they had become common enough in local speech.

This pattern can also be retained for the other violations of the system morpheme principle, in that it can explain, for instance, why a mother could borrow a demonstrative prefix, or a

grandmother an object prefix, in natural and neutral exchanges with their daughter and granddaughter. These examples support the idea that features originating in style (including also CS and Iscamtho) can become a regular part of the local language, provided that speakers of the style reach a less marginal position in the local society, or that the style is adopted by larger groups. However, further evidence from archives would be necessary to confirm the process.

In addition to the examples discussed above, other points must be mentioned, some of which contradict the MLF model. As noted by Winford, double morphology can violate MLF model principles. The example of an English morpheme preserved after borrowing was given in Chapter 6 with the word *amajents* (pages 145 and 146), and with the compound *one minutes* (page 179). However, in both cases, the plural morpheme *-s* does not have any structural effect, and the same words were used also without this morpheme. Therefore it is not syntactically meaningful. Yet another example is more problematic for the MLF model. Example 7.57 (page 195) shows the use of two object prefixes for the same word, but from two different languages: *-wa-* from Zulu Class 6, and *-di-* from Sotho Class 10. This example does not represent a regular trait of the local mixed language but, rather, a case of miscontrolled speech. Yet, the fact that the example was produced cannot be explained by the MLF model, and the result aimed at was also in violation of the MLF model.

Furthermore, the principles of the MLF model must be questioned in regard to other structural features, which are not tied to language contact. Example 7.58 (page 196) features a case of hetero-concordance, which is justified by the impropriety of the topic, and as such constitutes a stylistic strategy to overcome a taboo by speaking one's mind, despite local rules of respect. This case of hetero-concordance demonstrates that socially-motivated stylistic consideration can lead to deep syntactic restructuring. If this effect is observable in monolingual speech, why could it not be applied to (native) multilingual speech? According to the MLF model, the natural principles of language make it impossible. But according to the practice of the people of White City, style, and therefore, arbitrary behaviours, can result in new syntactic forms which disregard hypothetical universal principles. Sebba's (1998) concept of constructed congruence also seems more useful to explain the data, as it relies on the speakers' ability to redefine syntactic categories across languages, to allow the production of mixed structures violating assumed universal constraints. Simango (2010, 2011) had already identified this process in CS involving English and Bantu languages, although its output was in conformity with the MLF model. Evidence was given that White City speakers, adults

and children alike, often construct semantic and syntactic identity between elements from different languages. To a certain extent, this process relies on their awareness, and is realised through deliberate choices.

Also, example 7.59 (page 197) shows that there is not always a clear identifiable base-language, and even less a ‘matrix’ language. Rather, speech can be completely innovative, and produce unclassifiable forms. This is in line with Gafaranga’s (2000) demonstration of a negotiation of the mixed base language in a bilingual conversation. Myers-Scotton recognized that sometimes, system morphemes can be exchanged, but only if they show congruence, and only if they express content, rather than structure. In the case of locative prefixes, the argument of congruence might be receivable. However, congruence in this case is only congruence in function and in position, not in form. Example 7.44 (page 189) shows that lack of congruence is not an obstacle to the production of a mixed innovative structure, supporting Sebba’s hypothesis, and proving that the constraints identified by Myers-Scotton are neither absolute, nor universal. According to Myers-Scotton’s blocking hypothesis, a system morpheme that does not show congruence cannot appear. But the disappearance of a system morpheme in example 7.47 (page 191) cannot be explained by this principle, as the zero prefix used is incongruent with the Zulu system.

Finally, another point can be made regarding the MLF model: the concept of ‘language island’ was developed by Myers-Scotton to explain the existence of borrowed phrases violating the system morpheme principle, or the morpheme order principle. I have not identified such islands in the case of mixing involving Zulu and Sotho. Certain examples containing English may be considered to feature islands (see examples 7.29, page 182; and 7.37, page 186). Considering that Zulu and Sotho are also the languages involved in the examples violating the MLF model, the issue of universal principles needs to be examined: how can innovative structures appear in Zulu/Sotho mix, violating theoretical models, while in the case of Zulu/English or Sotho/English mix, language islands are observed, as well as grammaticalisation producing a hybrid structure that can still respect the syntactic rules of the base language?

Two possible answers can be proposed. On the one hand, there may be a lack of congruence between English and the two Bantu languages, which would prevent such structural innovations. In this hypothetical perspective, it may be that Zulu and Sotho having similar structures, exchange of system morphemes is made possible, while it remains impossible with English. Thus, one could rephrase the MLF model to take as a frame of reference the larger systems of language families,

rather than languages. This view is not entirely in contradiction with Sebba's view of congruence as being constructed, if one considers that congruence between Bantu and English structure may not be impossible, but simply more difficult for speakers to achieve.

However, another perspective seems more likely. Rather than postulating that universal principles are delimited by congruence factors, when those principles have been proven inadequate for rather congruent but separate systems (producing structures deemed impossible by the MLF model), and have also been overcome in the case of non-congruent systems from Zulu and English, I propose to consider the place of Zulu, Sotho and English respectively in the experience of White City speakers. The two first languages are dominant in White City speech, on the streets and within families. They are the two main native varieties of the area, and all children in the study are exposed to them from an early age, although in different proportions. English on the other hand, is the language of the media, school and other institutions such as churches. But on the streets, it is rarely used in monolingual discourse, and full English sentences are almost always part of speech dominated by Zulu or Sotho. Hence, rather than congruence in linguistic systems, I propose to retain, as a better explanation, the fact that speakers have a deeper and more thorough experience of Zulu and Sotho: they have an intimate relationship to both, and that is why they can mix them as they wish, with or without respecting so-called universal principles. This is tied to their ability to redefine language elements and construct congruence. On the contrary, speakers' knowledge of English remains limited, or not as deeply rooted in their mind. As such, mix including English follows more superficial patterns, which do not require an intimate and native knowledge of the variety, and which do not reshape the structure of the base language in ways that violate commonly observed patterns. This view is in accordance with a conception of the output of language contact as submitted to social factors (see Thomason 2008), and I have shown that social factors were essential in allowing the local mixed variety to feature structures that contradict the MLF model. Since the younger generations have been learning English earlier in life than the previous ones, the different relation that speakers have to English may change in the near future, which might make the exchange of system morphemes possible between English and the two main Bantu languages in White City.

Finally, Myers-Scotton's (2002:130; see page 43) proposal of a universal principle for all Bantu languages – allowing only the borrowing of English terms either in a 'default class' with its noun prefix, or in another class with a zero noun prefix – should be discussed. Almost all the borrowings from English studied in this thesis were used in class 5 (plural in class 6), class 7 (plural in class 8),

or class 9 (plural in class 10), even if changes in classes were observed between singular and plural. Moreover, classes 1 and 2 may be used for borrowings referring to persons. Myers-Scotton's proposal does not seem applicable to Zulu, and it is not a general principle in Bantu languages. And yet, an example of a bare form was observed with a term (*one rand*, example 7.17) that appeared with a class prefix in other instances. Although Myers-Scotton's principle is not universal, it can be followed, according to a speaker's own behaviour.

On the Effects of Social Factors on the Outcome of Language Contact

The impact of social factors on language mix was also discussed in Chapter 2 Section 1, relying on the following sources:

- According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988:35; see Chapter 2, page 23), both the direction and the extent of mixing depend on social factors. Mufwene (2001; page 23) supports this view, and he argues that the need to communicate can overcome structural constraints.
- According to Heine and Kuteva (2005:12-13; page 16), there is evidence that social factors are irrelevant in determining the output of language contact.
- According to Myers-Scotton (2002:238-240; page 23) structural constraints derive from the natural principles of languages, and therefore social factor do not have any influence on the structural output of language contact.

In Chapters 5 and 6, I showed that mixed speech has become part of the children's native variety. This is due to the social and linguistic ideologies referred to in Section 2 above. I pointed out that the universal principles of the MLF model have been disproved through several examples. In addition, these examples mainly reflect common practice in the sociolinguistic field of White City. Hence, I can claim that there is now evidence that social factors can overcome hypothetical structural constraints, to allow the emergence, stabilisation and normalisation of the very structures which the MLF model deemed impossible.

Multivalency was presented above as one of these social factors. Style and deliberate choices also seem to have had a major role in the emergence of these structures. But other factors should be considered in White City, such as: the high number of ethnically mixed families; a social ideology of diversity and mixing; a slow adoption of urban style by most of the population, through mixed speech and slang use. The entire social history of White City should be considered when trying to explain the social factors that shaped local mixed speech: diversity, crime, violence, poverty and political resistance are all relevant factors.

On the Role of Children in the Emergence of the Mixed Variety

Once it is clear that children speak the mixed variety as their native variety, it becomes necessary to compare their practice with that of adults, in order to measure the role that children may have played in the emergence of the mixed variety.

Mufwene (2001:132; see Chapter 2, pages 24-25) noted that: during language acquisition, children are not under the influence of a previously acquired variety; they are under less pressure than adults to produce well-formed speech quickly. I deduced from this that young children are free to learn any variety as theirs. Mufwene also contested that children can be the source of a mixed language, but he acknowledged that they must have some influence over the output of the process.

The data proposed in this thesis stressed two important points: on the one hand, children use mixed forms learnt from their parents; on the other hand, some forms of mixing, especially from a three-year-old boy, were shown to be tied to imperfect language acquisition, resulting especially in one boy using Sotho nouns and verbs in his Zulu, and vice versa. These particular patterns have been observed in very few instances among adults and elderlies, but in most cases, mixing patterns observed from adults were different from those of young children in the case of Zulu/Sotho mix, with prefixes being exchanged, and alternations in the base languages, rather than with noun and verb borrowings. Again, the same patterns as with adults were observed among older children. I can therefore conclude that children acquire the mixed language from adults, and that whatever particular form of mix young children produce due to their limited command of language, does not become set when they become older.

Clearly, children are recipients of the mixed code, rather than being in charge of shaping it. Language contact among adults, and urban style (at first among young males from a historical perspective), are the source of the local mixed variety, and the children's impact over it is at best minimal, possibly non-existent. The role of older children and teenagers is more influential over the mixed language: being multilingual and keen to produce stylisation, they may be an important source of innovation. They have been shown to be important in transmitting non-standard features and slang to younger children, and turning these into natively acquired features.

Conclusion: Consequences and Propositions

The case of mixed speech in White City shows that a CS situation in a multilingual urban setting, can give way to a stable mixed language. This point has been made before with the case of Guringji Kriol by McConvell and Meakins (2005) who, however, did not describe the specific sociolinguistic and socio-historical processes that led to the emergence and stabilisation of this

variety. In the case of White City, strong evidence supports the idea that the process has been under way for decades, and yet, Zulu as spoken in White City is still very much a Bantu language. But it features many non-standard structures, many borrowed words and phrases, and even replicated grammatical structures. In addition, it is strongly influenced by slang. Sotho – and probably other less widespread languages – is no doubt under the same influence.

White City Zulu does not present the strict pattern of Mixed Language as defined by Bakker and Mous (1994), which would involve syntax from one source, and lexicon from another. Rather, syntax and lexicon are both mixed to a certain extent, with lexicon more so than syntax. But the examples of stylistic transformation of grammar, as well as the stable use of innovative syntax born of language contact in families, signal that the evolution of local Zulu into a mixed language is not complete yet, and that the language's mixed nature is still developing. Speakers' awareness and deliberate control over the structure of speech, have been shown to potentially have an effect on the direction of the new development. Many influential factors in the development of Iscamtho until now are still very influential today. Yet, on-going changes in the sociology of White City, with the regular settlement of rural migrants – particularly from non-Zulu speaking regions – as well as the present government's linguistic policies in education and in the media, will be essential in determining the future transformations that will affect White City's mixed variety, and the possibility of seeing clear regular rules shape a distinct and separate 'language' of its own.

The case of Iscamtho among White City children clarifies the place of slang among children, within a native mixed variety, and it clarifies both the nature of Iscamtho as slang, and its general position as a low register of the mixed variety. But, more essentially, I consider the evolution of language in White City to be a case of on-going 'creolisation,' using the term in a very general sense common in anthropology (see Sidbury 1997, or Glissant 1997), rather than in the specific sense it has in linguistics. Hence, it is of primary interest to researchers in the field of language contact studies. Not only does White City offer a case of mixed language born of CS, but it also gives an opportunity for linguists to observe change while it is still taking place, rather than to postulate on the process of change long after a variety has stabilised, as in the case of recognised mixed languages or the majority of creoles. Finally, the conclusions presented in Sections 2 and 3 above, show that the structure of language is greatly permeable to social factors. In fact, if structures violating the MLF model could be born out of style and contact in the particular social context of White City, one has to conclude that different social factors are the only reasonable explanation to the fact that such structures were not observed in other contexts. In addition, the data demonstrate beyond doubt that language mix can occur within the phrase level, which constitutes a significant

step forward in theories of language contact.

The conclusions offered here are in clear opposition with the MLF model, while Myers-Scotton and others used the case of Iscamtho in Soweto to strengthen their model. One question emerges: how could previous researchers see in the mixed speech of Soweto a confirmation of the MLF model, while I found, in the same urban centre, clear evidence against this model?

The answer to this question lies in methodology: previous studies in Soweto were not based on anthropological fieldwork, and they were not designed to gather primarily natural speech. It took me thirty months in the field to acquire the (still incomplete) data presented in this thesis, a long time spent there to ensure that the children and their parents would feel comfortable enough with me, so as not to change their behaviours in a significant manner. Moreover, the quantity of data analysed represents an important factor. Had I worked on only 230 turns of speech instead of 2 340, I might have missed the most significant pieces of language. Finally, the emergence of different results was obviously favoured by the fact that my analysis relied on three disciplinary perspectives – anthropological, sociolinguistic and linguistic – as well as on four different levels of analysis – statistical, conversational, structural and participatory. This thesis, and its potentially far-reaching conclusions, represents a plea for a change in the methodology of language contact studies, from the data collection perspective and the theoretical perspective. Theories need be tested thoroughly before they can be validated. And in order to test them, scientific rigour demands that the data analysed reflect social practices entirely, and that no external factor distorts the observed linguistic behaviours. Such factors include primarily the presence of the researcher, and the well-known observer's paradox. I have relied on slow anthropological methodology to improve the reliability of the data and the analysis presented in this thesis. Linguistic anthropologists are familiar with this strategy and were the first to implement it in language studies. Unfortunately, theories of language structure are rarely their primary focus. I hope that other linguists can learn from their example, particularly in the fields of language contact and urban language studies. Hopefully, the use of a comparable methodology in the many other multilingual settings studied by researchers in the last fifty years or so, may demonstrate that structures similar to those presented in this thesis exist in places other than White City. This would greatly contribute to the elaboration of new theoretical models.

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The Use of Iscamtho by Children in White City-Jabavu, Soweto:

APPENDIX

Slang and Language Contact in an African Urban Context



Table of Contents of Appendices to

The Use of Iscamtho by Children in White City Jabavu: Slang and Language Contact in an African Urban Context.

By Pierre Aycard

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Appendix 1: Memorandum of Understanding

To whom it may concern:

I undersigned _____ accept to participate in the linguistic research carried out by Pierre Aycard, PhD student at the University of Cape Town.

I accept to become a research informant.

I accept that my child _____ will participate in the research and be recorded.

I understand that the purpose of the research is to gather naturalistic linguistic interactions, and that the data will be gathered through video and audio recording.

The data is gathered and used in strict respect of the following conditions:

1. All recordings are for research purposes only. They are to be used by Pierre Aycard and the other member of the research project he is part of at the University of Cape Town. This project is entitled “South African Informal Urban Languages” and is led by Dr Ellen Hurst.
2. All recordings are to be transcribed and translated by a research assistant working with Pierre Aycard. Any person doing the transcription and translation work is submitted to obligations of confidentiality, and is forbidden to share the content of the recordings with anyone other than the researcher.
3. All data used in academic writings or presentations should be used in order to protect the anonymity of the informants. No actual name will be used.
4. The informant is allowed to end the recording any time he/she does not feel comfortable with it.

Description of the specific type of recording concerned (people, place, moment):

Signed in White City – Jabavu

Informant's Name:

Informant's Signature:

Date:

Appendix 2: Handwritten Transcripts

Friend 2 Kukhona a bazo i hoba bazo thi o yi
tshantshile lento.
Same will see it they will say you stole it.

Friend 1 Aa wuna ne liesence
You don't have a liesence

K [REDACTED] Yeh ngi nayo i liesence
Yes I don't have a liesence

Friend 2 Kube uyai hleba
You should steal it

Friend 1 Oya khumbula siyo baya amakota no lebo
Lithi leqata oya si gona isibemo last
ngathi angisi goni lasi beka phezu e [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] ka makhengi

You remember when we went to buy
kotas with lebo, and then this cop asked
do i want a gun, I said no he then
placed it on top of the table at
Makhengi.

Friend 2 Qwala ngo clever eskaleni, yewena clever
a wa shaye iskhama raond.
Can you fill the clever in the place. hey you clever
reorder araond in the circle.

31, K [REDACTED] Nyeke sekhulume nalezi
We won't speak with this one's.

FRIEND 1 ~~Aothi sedlale amadlaise aothi segombale manje~~
Aothi segombale manje, aothi sedlale amadlaise
akuphume imale madoda kushuke imali
Let's gamble now, let's play dice. Pop out mane
money man ruge money.

Friend 2 Yo cava i we phantse
Yo look it b. fell down.

Friend 1 Heka 2011, yeka 2010 lento le
It's 2011, it's 2010 this thing

K [REDACTED] MBaphi bo clever wena ngi ngizo hophu maphosa
your shit aih potsek man
Where are the ~~so~~ clevers, I'll get you arrested by police
you shit aih pis off.

raond

Friend 1: fotsek wena

You piss off

K: Yini wena

What is wrong you

Friend 2: Bega letsheri bega letsheri Oyabona leya ngingai nyoba
look at that girl, look at that girl. you see her i can fuck
her.

Friend 1: Akushukwe amadise nou mgethu, ngithi euyo phanda.
amadise

Let's rugle the dice now bro, I'm saying go and look for
dice.

Friend 2: Hambo funa amadise wena
go and look for the dice you

32. K: 3. Bawa labo cleva

32. K: 3. Ayih mina angqi khulume isigotsi mina
Ayih i don't speak stosti tal I.

Friend 1: Bawa labo cleva
Where are the clevers

K: Yeh!
What.

Friend 1: Hch mele uphethe nombolo isukile nombolo manje
you should have a number the law of number is on now

Friend 2: One nombolo wena
do you have a number you

Friend 1: Hey mina ngine nombolo
I do have a number

All together: Ikuphi manje

Where it is now

Friend 1: here ~~on~~ Nai la la enyawani
here it is in the leg.

Friend 2: Oya yazi yini nombolo uobe. O yazi nombolo yini w...
seven

Do you know the what's the law of numbers full. You know
law of number is 7.

Friend 2: Oyabona osewen mau phethe nombolo yaya dubula
o dubula labalungu laba dubula lema phosa be soyo
roba i bent manje.

You see seven if you have the law you shoot, you shoot the
whites and you shoot the police. let's go and rob a bank now.

Friend: Ngikhulisa izinkwele Zami

I'm growing my hair

0: Yoh

What

Friend: (olo liwe lolwe wayi.)

(Singing)

0: abafana bamanje.

Boy of Today

0: Wera Ugeza Ohkeli phansi

You wash wife you are sitting

Friend: Ungabogeza Ohkeli phansi.

don't wash wife sitting

Friend: Usike wahlapa udutsi kofatsi.

don't wash wife sitting

Friend: Mkhulu UZohlala udlala Umchayina

Uthoko ucula estage: USumo his gospel and nree

Mkhulu is playing mchira and Thoko sings at stage

and Sumo is do good is nice.

Friend: kitlo hoshaba kitlowushaba

I'll look for you I'll look for you

Friend: Yoh ki ya bridge

No it is Bridget's

Friend: dlala eya.

Play eya

0: Mnr laba batheba.

I this ones are pouring

Friend: UYazi Ukuthi Ngithela ini isispray

Do you know what did put in the spray.

Friend: ko kargifuni Never

Knock knock, I don't what never

Friend: ha ki rutetsi fatsi

= No I pee on the floor

Another friend: hayi kometsing' aka

No in my water

Friend: Yebathung

What's happening people

O [redacted]: abafana ha x3

Boy's x3

Friend: Ulike wadlala Mmentsoing' awa.

Don't play in that water

Friend: HO Ushude.

wait you must look.

O [redacted]: kube Iphone yami kuyi Blackberry

If my phone was a black berry

Friend: Wena kgole untsohidutha uri unali black-berry

You been telling us lies say you have a black-berry.

O [redacted]: bengidutha noma bengidlala

O [redacted]: bengitshela Vbobami and bekabheke kumi.

I was telling my father and he was looking at me

Friend: lena hlala Ingithusa

this one always scares me.

O [redacted] (ha laughing)

Friend: uyobona ukuthi uyagela.

~~No only boys~~

O [redacted]: hey yi abafana kodwa.

No only boys

O [redacted]: fla ki bone Monyoz

Let me see Monyoz

Friend: Mna ngidlala i grand Theft.

I play a grand Theft.

Appendix 3: Results of the 2011 Census for the township of Jabavu.

Jabavu includes three different locations: Central-Jabavu; Western-Central-Jabavu; and White City-Jabavu. No data is available for White City-Jabavu alone.

All tables were provided by Statistics South Africa, a government agency in charge of the census.

Table 1: Population group by gender for person weighted

	Male	Female	Total
Black African	21844	23090	44934
Coloured	50	48	98
Indian or Asian	34	15	49
White	19	37	56
Other	49	12	61
Total	21995	23203	45198

Table 2: Age in completed years by gender for person weighted

	Male	Female	Total
0 - 4	2313	2294	4607
5 - 9	1936	1768	3704
10 - 14	1593	1570	3163
15 - 19	1877	1892	3768
20 - 24	2323	2348	4671
25 - 29	2611	2467	5078
30 - 34	2184	2024	4207
35 - 39	1721	1611	3333
40 - 44	1351	1341	2691
45 - 49	1025	1247	2272
50 - 54	973	1098	2071
55 - 59	844	1102	1946
60 - 64	511	833	1344
65 - 69	297	531	828
70 - 74	223	393	615
75 - 79	86	312	398
80 - 84	64	185	249
85 +	66	187	252
Total	21995	23203	45198

Table 3: Official employment status for person weighted

Employed	10518
Unemployed	8725
Discouraged work-seeker	1700
Other not economically active	10438

Table 4: Highest educational level by gender for person weighted

	Male	Female	Total
Gade 0	586	575	1161
Grade 1 / Sub A	506	454	960
Grade 2 / Sub B	545	463	1008
Grade 3 / Std 1/ABET 1Kha Ri Gude;SANLI	474	489	964
Grade 4 / Std 2	563	563	1126
Grade 5 / Std 3/ABET 2	635	640	1275
Grade 6 / Std 4	723	734	1457
Grade 7 / Std 5/ ABET 3	945	1029	1975
Grade 8 / Std 6 / Form 1	1681	1942	3623
Grade 9 / Std 7 / Form 2/ ABET 4	1329	1208	2537
Grade 10 / Std 8 / Form 3	1944	2177	4121
Grade 11 / Std 9 / Form 4	2581	2879	5460
Grade 12 / Std 10 / Form 5	5527	5976	11503
NTC I / N1/ NIC/ V Level 2	30	22	52
NTC II / N2/ NIC/ V Level 3	25	18	43
NTC III /N3/ NIC/ V Level 4	28	10	38
N4 / NTC 4	23	15	38
N5 /NTC 5	18	9	28
N6 / NTC 6	17	13	30
Certificate with less than Grade 12 / Std 10	25	30	55
Diploma with less than Grade 12 / Std 10	30	29	59
Certificate with Grade 12 / Std 10	236	286	522
Diploma with Grade 12 / Std 10	263	271	535
Higher Diploma	91	119	210
Post Higher Diploma Masters; Doctoral Diploma	23	18	41
Bachelors Degree	96	99	194
Bachelors Degree and Post graduate Diploma	30	22	52
Honours degree	19	19	38
Higher Degree Masters / PhD	8	7	15
Other	25	20	45
No schooling	442	533	975
Not applicable	2528	2532	5060
Total	21995	23203	45198

Table 5: Annual household income per person weighted

No income	2133
R 1 - R 4800	436
R 4801 - R 9600	613
R 9601 - R 19 600	2033
R 19 601 - R 38 200	2229
R 38 201 - R 76 400	2020
R 76 401 - R 153 800	1220
R 153 801 - R 307 600	463
R 307 601 - R 614 400	132
R 614 001 - R 1 228 800	23
R 1 228 801 - R 2 457 600	13
R 2 457 601 or more	7
Unspecified	0

Table 6: Individual monthly income per person weighted

R 51 201 - R 102 400	12
R 102 401 - R 204 800	14
R 204 801 or more	6
Unspecified	3434
Not applicable	457

Table 7: Types of dwelling for household weighted

House or brick/concrete block structure on a separate stand or yard or on a farm	2945
Traditional dwelling/hut/structure made of traditional materials	39
Flat or apartment in a block of flats	12
Cluster house in complex	8
Townhouse (semi-detached house in a complex)	37
Semi-detached house	5994
House/flat/room in backyard	784
Informal dwelling (shack; in backyard)	1283
Informal dwelling (shack; not in backyard; e.g. in an informal/squatter settlement or on a farm)	58
Room/flatlet on a property or larger dwelling/servants quarters/granny flat	123
Caravan/tent	4
Other	31
Unspecified	0

Table 8: Tenure status for household weighted

Rented	3813
Owned but not yet paid off	290
Occupied rent-free	1731
Owned and fully paid off	5202
Other	285
Total	11321

Table 9: Energy or fuel for cooking for household weighted

Electricity	11077
Gas	40
Paraffin	153
Wood	14
Coal	8
Animal dung	1
Solar	23
Other	1
None	4
Unspecified	0
Not applicable	0
Total	11321

Table 10: Energy or fuel for heating for household weighted

Electricity	10949
Gas	41
Paraffin	160
Wood	13
Coal	16
Animal dung	8
Solar	28
Other	0
None	108
Unspecified	0
Not applicable	0
Total	11321

Table 11: Energy or fuel for lighting for household weighted

Electricity	11100
Gas	18
Paraffin	132
Candles (not a valid option)	33
Solar	25
None	13
Unspecified	0
Not applicable	0

Table 12: Piped water for household weighted

Piped (tap) water inside dwelling/institution	7274
Piped (tap) water inside yard	3981
Piped (tap) water on community stand: distance less than 200m from dwelling/institution	16
Piped (tap) water on community stand: distance between 200m and 500m from dwelling/institution	11
Piped (tap) water on community stand: distance between 500m and 1000m (1km) from dwelling /institution	3
Piped (tap) water on community stand: distance greater than 1000m (1km) from dwelling/institution	3
No access to piped (tap) water	33
Unspecified	0
Not applicable	0

Table 13: Refuse disposal for household weighted

Removed by local authority/private company at least once a week	11286
Removed by local authority/private company less often	22
Communal refuse dump	4
Own refuse dump	6
No rubbish disposal	3
Other	0
Unspecified	0
Not applicable	0

Table 14: Source of water for household weighted

Regional/local water scheme (operated by municipality or other water services provider)	11042
Borehole	31
Spring	8
Rain water tank	11
Dam/pool/stagnant water	3
River/stream	2
Water vendor	48
Water tanker	150
Other	26
Not applicable	0

Table 15: Toilet facilities for household weighted

None	11
Flush toilet (connected to sewerage system)	10713
Flush toilet (with septic tank)	419
Chemical toilet	129
Pit toilet with ventilation (VIP)	12
Pit toilet without ventilation	8
Bucket toilet	3
Other	26
Unspecified	0
Not applicable	0

Appendix 4 – Detailed Tables by Age-Gender Categories

This appendix presents a detail of the use of relevant features of language by children and adults. Tables include the detail of borrowings, alternations, and Iscamtho use for the following categories:

- Under-five females (page 2);
- Under-five males (page 6);
- Five-to-six females (page 10);
- Five-to-six males (page 14);
- Seven-to-nine females (page 18);
- Seven-to-nine males (page 22);
- Adult females (page 26);
- Adult males (page 29);
- Elderly females(page 32);
- Elderly males (page 35).

The analysis presents the use of the above-mentioned features for each category, in relations to: the languages used; the registers used; the location where the features occurred ; the supervision under which the features occurred (apart from tables for adults); the addressee of the turn in which the features occurred ; and the topics discussed when the features occurred. Regarding topics, as coding was not done consistently, but only applied when a topic was used, which was relevant in regard to the larger study, no totals per column are provided. This is because not all concerned turns would appear, and hence totals would not be meaningful.

If categories of features are missing in columns, it is because there was no occurrence of the concerned feature in the specific category of children described.

Appendix 4.1: Under-five females

a) Languages used in turns containing borrowings and alternations

	Under 5 Female Insert Afrikaans	Under 5 Female Insert English	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Under 5 Female Intersentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	TOTALS :
Afrikaans	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bantu Other	0	0	0	0	0	0
English	0	0	4	1	2	6
Sotho	0	0	0	0	0	0
Undetermined	0	0	1	0	0	1
Zulu	3	41	45	1	2	47
TOTALS	3	41	50	2	4	54

b) Registers used in turns containing borrowings and alternations

	Under 5 Female Insert Afrikaans	Under 5 Female Insert English	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Under 5 Female Intersentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	TOTALS:
Register: Iscamtho	0	0	0	0	0	0
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	3	41	44	1	1	50
Register: Undetermined	0	0	0	0	0	0
Register: Vulgar	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	3	41	44	1	1	50

c) Locations where turns containing borrowings and alternations occurred

	Under 5 Female Insert Afrikaans	Under 5 Female Insert English	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Under 5 Female Intersentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHING	TOTALS
Backroom	1	2	3	0	0	4
House	0	9	9	0	0	9
Shop	1	21	22	1	1	26
Street	1	2	3	0	0	3
Yard	0	7	7	0	0	8
TOTALS	3	41	44	1	1	50

d) Supervision under which turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho occurred

	Under 5 Female Insert Afrikaans	Under 5 Female Insert English	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Under 5 Female I ntersentential Switch	TOTALS BORROWINGS	TOTALS:
Adult Female	2	29	31	1	1	36
Elderly Male	0	0	0	0	0	0
Teenager Male	0	0	0	0	0	0
Adult Male	1	18	19	0	0	22
Elderly Female	2	29	31	1	1	36
None	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	5	76	81	2	2	94

e) Addressees of turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	Under 5 Female Insert Afrikaans	Under 5 Female Insert English	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Under 5 Female Intersentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	TOTALS:
Adult Female	2	22	24	0	0	24
Adult Male	0	5	5	0	0	6
Young Teenager Male	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elderly Female	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elderly Male	0	0	0	0	0	0
Older Child Female	0	9	9	0	0	9
Older Child Male	0	0	0	0	0	0
Child Same Age Female	0	2	2	0	0	2
Child Same Age Male	0	0	0	0	0	0
Younger Child Female	1	3	4	1	1	7
Younger Child Male	0	0	0	0	0	0
Speaking Alone	0	0	0	0	0	1
TOTALS	3	41	44	1	1	49

f) Topics discussed in turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	Under 5 Female Insert Afrikaans	Under 5 Female Insert English	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Under 5 Female Intersentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	TOTALS:
Crime Related	0	0	0	0	0	0
Firecrackers	0	0	0	0	0	0
Money	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parenting	2	25	27	0	0	28
Recorder	0	11	11	0	0	11

Role playing	0	1	1	0	0	1
School	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sport	0	0	0	0	0	0
Taxi	0	0	0	0	0	0
Technology	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trade	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix 4.2: Under-five males

a) Languages used in turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	Under 5 Male Insert Afrikaans	Under 5 Male Insert English	Under 5 Male Insert Sotho	Under 5 Male Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWING S	Under 5 Male Intersentential Switches	Under 5 Male Intrasentential Switches	TOTALS SWITCHES	Under 5 Male Insert Iskamtho	TOTALS
Afrikaans	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bantu Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
English	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	3
Sotho	1	7	0	6	14	9	5	14	1	29
Undetermined	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zulu	1	19	4	1	25	10	5	15	5	45
TOTALS	2	26	4	7	39	22	10	32	6	77

b) Registers used in turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	Under 5 Male Insert Afrikaans	Under 5 Male Insert English	Under 5 Male Insert Sotho	Under 5 Male Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Under 5 Male Intersentential Switch	Under 5 Male Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	Under 5 Male Insert Iskamtho	TOTALS
Iskamtho	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	6	7
Local Variety - Neutral	1	23	4	6	40	11	5	16	0	56
Undetermined	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vulgar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	1	24	4	6	41	11	5	16	6	63

c) Locations where turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho occurred

	Under 5 Male Insert Afrikaans	Under 5 Male Insert English	Under 5 Male Insert Sotho	Under 5 Male Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Under 5 Male Intersentential Switch	Under 5 Male Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	Under 5 Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Backroom	0	10	1	0	15	3	2	5	2	22
House	0	1	0	0	3	1	0	1	1	5
Shop	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Street	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	0	1	5
Yard	1	8	3	6	18	7	3	10	2	30
TOTALS	1	24	4	6	41	11	5	16	6	63

d) Supervision under which turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho occurred

	Under 5 Male Insert Afrikaans	Under 5 Male Insert English	Under 5 Male Insert Sotho	Under 5 Male Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Under 5 Male Intersentential Switch	Under 5 Male Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	Under 5 Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Adult Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elderly Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Teenager Male	0	1	0	1	2	1	0	1	1	6
Adult Male	0	3	1	1	5	1	0	1	0	6
Elderly Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
None	1	20	3	4	28	9	5	14	6	52
TOTALS	1	24	4	6	35	11	5	16	7	64

e) Addressees of turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	Under 5 Male Insert Afrikaans	Under 5 Male Insert English	Under 5 Male Insert Sotho	Under 5 Male Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Under 5 Male Intersentential Switch	Under 5 Male Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	Under 5 Male Insert IsCamtho	TOTALS
Adult Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Adult Male	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Elderly Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elderly Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Young Teenager Male	0	1	0	0	3	1	0	1	1	5
Older Child Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Older child Male	0	14	3	3	24	7	3	10	3	37
Child Same Age Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Child Same Age Male	0	3	1	0	4	0	0	0	1	5
Younger Child Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Younger Child Male	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
Speaking Alone	1	5	0	2	8	3	2	5	1	14
TOTALS	1	24	4	6	41	11	5	16	6	63

f) Topics discussed in turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	Under 5 Male Insert Afrikaans	Under 5 Male Insert English	Under 5 Male Insert Sotho	Under 5 Male Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Under 5 Male Intersentential Switch	Under 5 Male Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	Under 5 Male Insert Iskamtho	TOTALS
Crime Related	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Firecrackers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Money	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parenting	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	5
Recorder	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Role playing	1	3	2	1	7	3	2	5	0	12
School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sport	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Taxi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Technology	0	8	0	0	8	0	0	0	2	10
Trade	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1

Appendix 4.3: Five-to-six females

a) Languages used in turns containing borrowings and Iscamtho

	5 to 6 Female Insert Afrikaans	5 to 6 Female Insert English	TOTAL BORROWINGS	5 to 6 Female Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Afrikaans	0	0	0	0	0
Bantu Other	0	0	0	0	0
English	0	0	0	0	0
Sotho	0	0	0	0	0
Undetermined	0	0	0	0	0
Zulu	2	3	5	1	6
TOTALS	2	3	5	1	6

b) Registers used in turns containing borrowings and Iscamtho

	5 to 6 Female Insert Afrikaans	5 to 6 Female Insert English	TOTAL BORROWINGS	5 to 6 Female Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Iscamtho	1	0	1	1	2
Local Variety - Neutral	1	3	4	0	4
Undetermined	0	0	0	0	0
Vulgar	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	2	3	5	1	6

c) Locations where turns containing borrowings and Iscamtho occurred

	5 to 6 Female Insert Afrikaans	5 to 6 Female Insert English	TOTALS BORROWINGS	5 to 6 Female Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Backroom	0	0	0	0	0
House	2	1	3	1	4
Shop	0	0	0	0	0
Street	0	1	1	0	1
Yard	0	1	1	0	1
TOTALS	2	3	5	1	6

d) Supervision under which turns containing borrowings and Iscamtho occurred

	5 to 6 Female Insert Afrikaans	5 to 6 Female Insert English	TOTAL BORROWINGS	5 to 6 Female Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Adult Female	1	2	3	1	2
Elderly Male	0	0	0	0	0
Teenager Male	0	0	0	0	0
Adult Male	0	2	2	0	0
Elderly Female	1	0	1	1	2
None	0	1	1	0	1
TOTALS	2	5	7	2	16

e) Addressees of turns containing borrowings and Iscamtho

	5 to 6 Female Insert Afrikaans	5 to 6 Female Insert English	TOTALS BORROWINGS	5 to 6 Female Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Adult Female	0	0	0	0	0
Adult Male	0	0	0	0	0
Elderly Female	0	0	0	0	0
Elderly Male	0	0	0	0	0
Young Teenager Male	0	0	0	0	0
Older Child Female	0	1	1	0	1
Older Child Male	0	0	0	0	0
Child Same Age Female	0	1	1	0	1
Child Same Age Male	2	1	3	1	4
Younger Child Female	0	0	0	0	0
Younger Child Male	0	0	0	0	0
Speaking Alone	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	2	3	5	1	6

f) Topics discussed in turns containing borrowings and IScamtho

	5 to 6 Female Insert Afrikaans	5 to 6 Female Insert English	TOTAL BORROWINGS	5 to 6 Female Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Crime Related	0	0	0	0	0
Firecrackers	0	0	0	0	0
Money	0	1	1	0	1
Parenting	0	0	0	0	0
Recorder	0	1	1	0	1
Role playing	0	0	0	0	0
School	0	0	0	0	0

Sport	0	0	0	0	0
Taxi	0	0	0	0	0
Technology	0	0	0	0	0
Trade	0	1	1	0	1

Appendix 4.4: Five-to-six males

a) Languages used in turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	5 to 6 Male Insert Afrikaans	5 to 6 Male Insert English	5 to 6 Male Insert Sotho	TOTALS BORROWING S	5 to 6 Male Intersentential Switch	5 to 6 Male Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	5 to 6 Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Afrikaans	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bantu Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
English	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sotho	0	1	0	1	1	1	2	1	3
Undetermined	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zulu	2	23	2	27	1	1	2	19	29
TOTALS	2	24	2	28	2	2	4	20	32

b) Registers used in turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	5 to 6 Male Insert Afrikaans	5 to 6 Male Insert English	5 to 6 Male Insert Sotho	TOTALS BORROWINGS	5 to 6 Male Intersentential Switch	5 to 6 Male Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	5 to 6 Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Iscamtho	2	3	0	5	1	1	2	14	21
Local Variety - Neutral	0	20	2	22	0	0	0	3	25
Undetermined	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vulgar	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	3
TOTALS	2	24	2	28	1	1	2	19	49

c) Locations where turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho occurred

	5 to 6 Male Insert Afrikaans	5 to 6 Male Insert English	5 to 6 Male Insert Sotho	TOTALS BORROWINGS	5 to 6 Male Intersentential Switch	5 to 6 Male Intrasentential Switch	TOTAL SWITCHES	5 to 6 Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Backroom	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
House	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
Shop	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Street	2	22	2	26	1	1	2	17	45
Yard	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
TOTALS	2	24	2	28	1	1	2	19	49

d) Supervision under which turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho occurred

	5 to 6 Male Insert Afrikaans	5 to 6 Male Insert English	5 to 6 Male Insert Sotho	TOTALS BORROWING	5 to 6 Male Intersentential Switch	5 to 6 Male Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	5 to 6 Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Adult Female	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
Elderly Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Teenager Male	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Adult Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elderly Female	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
None	2	22	2	26	1	1	2	18	46
TOTALS	2	25	2	29	1	1	2	20	51

e) Addressees of turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	5 to 6 Male Insert Afrikaans	5 to 6 Male Insert English	5 to 6 Male Insert Sotho	TOTAL BORROWING S	5 to 6 Male Intersentential Switch	5 to 6 Male Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	5 to 6 Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Adult Female	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Adult Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elderly Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elderly Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Young Teenager Male	2	9	1	12	1	1	2	10	24
Older Child Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Older Child Male	0	12	1	13	0	0	0	5	18
Child Same Age Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Child same Age Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Younger Child Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Younger Child Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Speaking Alone	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	1	3
TOTALS	2	24	2	28	1	1	2	18	48

f) Topics discussed in turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	5 to 6 Male Insert Afrikaans	5 to 6 Male Insert English	5 to 6 Male Insert Sotho	TOTALS BORROWINGS	5 to 6 Male Intersentential Switch	5 to 6 Male Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	5 to 6 Male Insert Iskamtho	TOTALS
Crime Related	2	7	0	9	1	1	2	7	20
Firecrackers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Money	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	1	3
Parenting	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Recorder	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Role playing	1	5	0	6	1	1	2	9	19
School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sport	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Taxi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Technology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Topic: Trade	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix 4.5: Seven-to-nine females

a) Languages used in turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	7 to 9 Female Insert Afrikaans	7 to 9 Female Insert English	7 to 9 Female Insert Sotho	7 to 9 Female Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWINGS	7 to 9 Female Intersentential Switch	7 to 9 Female Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	7 to 10 Female Insert IsCamtho	TOTALS
Afrikaans	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Bantu Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
English	1	10	0	0	11	6	8	14	1	26
Sotho	1	11	1	2	15	1	1	2	1	18
Undetermined	1	2	0	0	3	1	0	1	0	4
Zulu	22	140	11	0	173	6	9	15	35	223
TOTALS	25	163	12	2	202	14	18	32	38	272

b) Registers used in turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	7 to 9 Female Insert Afrikaans	7 to 9 Female Insert English	7 to 9 Female Insert Sotho	7 to 9 Female Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWINGS	7 to 9 Female Intersentential Switch	7 to 9 Female Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	7 to 9 Female Insert IsCamtho	TOTALS
IsCamtho	4	11	0	0	15	0	1	1	34	50
Local Variety - Neutral	19	139	11	2	171	7	6	13	2	186
Undetermined	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vulgar	0	3	0	0	3	0	2	2	0	5
TOTALS	23	153	11	2	189	7	9	16	36	241

c) Locations where turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho occurred

	7 to 9 Female Insert Afrikaans	7 to 9 Female Insert English	7 to 9 Female Insert Sotho	7 to 9 Female Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWINGS	7 to 9 Female Intersentential Switch	7 to 9 Female Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	7 to 9 Female Insert Iskamtho	TOTALS
Backroom	8	41	3	2	54	2	2	4	3	61
House	5	32	2	0	39	1	1	2	2	43
Shop	0	14	0	0	14	2	2	4	1	19
Street	9	39	2	0	50	2	4	6	25	81
Yard	1	27	4	0	32	0	0	0	5	37
TOTALS	23	153	11	2	189	7	9	16	36	241

d) Supervision under which turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho occurred

	7 to 9 Female Insert Afrikaans	7 to 9 Female Insert English	7 to 9 Female Insert Sotho	7 to 9 Female Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWING S	7 to 9 Female Intersentential Switch	7 to 9 Female Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	7 to 9 Female Insert Iskamtho	TOTALS
Adult Female	5	54	2	0	61	0	1	1	4	66
Elderly Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Teenager Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Adult Male	3	24	1	0	28	0	1	1	2	31
Elderly Female	5	54	2	0	61	0	1	1	4	66
None	17	82	5	2	106	6	7	13	30	149
TOTALS	30	214	10	2	256	6	10	16	40	312

e) Addressees of turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	7 to 9 Female Insert Afrikaans	7 to 9 Female Insert English	7 to 9 Female Insert Sotho	7 to 9 Female Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWINGS	7 to 9 Female Intersentential Switch	7 to 9 Female Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	7 to 9 Female Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Adult Female	3	26	1	0	30	0	0	0	0	30
Adult male	2	14	1	0	17	0	1	1	1	19
Elderly Female	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Elderly Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Young Teenager Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Older Child Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Older child Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Child Same Age Female	17	99	7	2	125	6	8	14	35	174
Child Same Age Male	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Younger Child Female	0	7	2	0	9	0	0	0	0	9
Younger Child Male	1	8	0	0	9	1	0	1	0	10
Speaking alone	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	23	156	11	2	192	7	9	16	36	244

f) Topics discussed in turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	7 to 9 Female Insert Afrikaans	7 to 9 Female Insert English	7 to 9 Female Insert Sotho	7 to 9 Female Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWINGS	7 to 9 Female Intersentential Switch	7 to 9 Female Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	7 to 9 Female Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Crime Related	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Firecrackers	1	18	0	0	19	0	1	1	2	22
Money	4	6	0	0	10	0	0	0	1	11
Parenting	2	14	3	0	19	0	1	1	0	20
Recorder	3	23	1	1	28	0	1	1	15	44
Role playing	2	5	0	0	7	0	1	1	15	23
School	1	7	0	0	8	1	1	2	0	10
Sport	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Taxi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Technology	4	23	2	0	29	0	0	0	1	30
Trade	0	3	0	0	3	2	0	2	0	5

Appendix 4.6: Seven-to-nine males

a) Languages used in turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	7 to 9 Male Insert Afrikaans	7 to 9 Male Insert English	7 to 9 Male Insert Sotho	7 to 9 Male Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWINGS	7 to 9 Male Intersentential Switch	7 to 9 Male Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	7 to 9 Male Insert IsCamtho	TOTALS
Afrikaans	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bantu Other	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
English	0	11	0	0	11	4	7	11	1	23
Sotho	0	3	0	2	5	0	3	3	2	10
Undetermined	2	4	1	2	9	0	0	0	3	12
Zulu	23	256	10	1	290	4	10	14	100	404
TOTALS	25	274	12	5	316	8	20	28	106	450

b) Registers used in turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	7 to 9 Male Insert Afrikaans	7 to 9 Male Insert English	7 to 9 Male Insert Sotho	7 to 9 Male Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWING S	7 to 9 Male Intersentential Switch	7 to 9 Male Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	7 to 9 Male Insert IsCamtho	TOTALS
IsCamtho	4	23	0	1	28	0	0	0	79	107
Local Variety - Neutral	20	240	11	2	273	4	10	14	25	312
Undetermined	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vulgar	1	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	1	4
TOTALS	25	263	12	4	304	4	10	14	105	423

c) Locations where turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho occurred

	7 to 9 Male Insert Afrikaans	7 to 9 Male Insert English	7 to 9 Male Insert Sotho	7 to 9 Male Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWINGS	7 to 9 Male Intersentential Switch	7 to 9 Male Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	7 to 9 Male Insert IsCamtho	TOTALS
Backroom	1	14	1	0	16	1	1	2	1	19
House	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Shop	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
Street	23	240	7	2	272	3	7	10	102	384
Yard	1	5	4	2	12	0	2	2	1	15
TOTALS	25	263	12	4	304	4	10	14	105	423

d) Supervision under which turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho occurred

	7 to 9 Male Insert Afrikaans	7 to 9 Male Insert English	7 to 9 Male Insert Sotho	7 to 9 Male Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWINGS	7 to 9 Male Intersentential Switch	7 to 9 Male Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	7 to 9 Male Insert IsCamtho	TOTALS
Adult Female	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Elderly Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Teenager Male	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Adult Male	0	3	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	4
Elderly Female	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
None	25	255	11	4	295	4	10	14	105	414
TOTALS	25	265	12	4	306	4	10	14	105	425

e) Addressees of turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	7 to 9 Male Insert Afrikaans	7 to 9 Male Insert English	7 to 9 Male Insert Sotho	7 to 9 Male Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWINGS	7 to 9 Male Intersentential Switch	7 to 9 Male Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	7 to 9 Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Adult Female	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Adult Male	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	3
Elderly Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elderly Male	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
Young Teenager Male	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	0	6	10
Older Child Female	0	3	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	4
Older Child Male	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Child Same Age Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Child same Age Male	24	232	9	1	266	3	7	10	86	362
Younger Child Female	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Younger Child Male	1	15	2	2	20	0	3	3	10	33
Speaking alone	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	3
TOTALS	25	262	12	3	302	4	10	14	106	422

f) Topics discussed in turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	7 to 9 Male Insert Afrikaans	7 to 9 Male Insert English	7 to 9 Male Insert Sotho	7 to 9 Male Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWINGS	7 to 9 Male Intersentential Switch	7 to 9 Male Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	7 to 9 Male Insert IsCamtho	TOTALS
Crime Related	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	0	5	11
Firecrackers	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Money	1	10	0	0	11	0	0	0	4	15
Parenting	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Recorder	1	50	0	0	51	1	1	2	14	67
Role playing	9	46	4	1	60	0	1	1	12	73
School	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Sport	1	6	0	0	7	0	0	0	1	8
Taxi	9	44	4	1	58	0	1	1	12	71
Technology	0	14	0	0	14	1	1	2	2	18
Trade	1	9	1	0	11	1	1	2	2	15

Appendix 4.7: Adult females

a) Languages used in turns containing borrowings and alternations

	Adult Female Insert Afrikaans	Adult Female Insert English	Adult Female Insert Sotho	TOTAL BORROWINGS	Adult Female Intersentential Switch	Adult Female Intrasentential Switch	TOTAL SWITCHES	TOTALS
Afrikaans	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
English	0	3	0	3	1	3	4	7
Sotho	0	4	1	5	3	2	5	10
Undetermined	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zulu	13	44	2	59	5	4	9	68
TOTALS	13	51	3	67	9	9	18	85

b) Registers used in turns containing borrowings and alternations

	Adult Female Insert Afrikaans	Adult Female Insert English	Adult Female Insert Sotho	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Adult Female Intersentential Switch	Adult Female Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	TOTALS
Iscamtho	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Local Variety - Neutral	13	46	2	61	5	5	10	71
Undetermined	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vulgar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	13	46	2	61	5	5	10	71

c) Locations where turns containing borrowings and alternations occurred

	Adult Female Insert Afrikaans	Adult Female Insert English	Adult Female Insert Sotho	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Adult Female Intersentential Switch	Adult Female Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	TOTALS
Backroom	5	6	0	11	0	0	0	11
House	3	32	0	35	1	3	4	39
Shop	5	6	0	11	1	2	3	14
Street	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
Yard	0	2	2	4	2	0	2	6
TOTALS	13	46	2	61	5	5	10	71

d) Addressees of turns containing borrowings and alternations occurred

	Adult Female Insert Afrikaans	Adult Female Insert English	Adult Female Insert Sotho	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Adult Female Intersentential Switch	Adult Female Intrasentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	TOTALS
Adult Female	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	2
Adult Male	1	14	0	15	0	0	0	15
Elderly Female	0	3	0	3	0	3	3	6
Elderly Male	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	2
Young Teenager Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Child Same Age Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Child Same Age Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Younger Child Female	10	24	2	36	1	0	1	37

Younger Child Male	2	2	0	4	3	0	3	7
TOTALS	13	44	2	59	5	5	10	69

e) Topics discussed in turns containing borrowings and alternations

	Adult Female Insert Afrikaans	Adult Female Insert English	Adult Female Insert Sotho	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Adult Female Intersentential Switch	Adult Female Intracentential Switch	TOTALS SWITCHES	TOTALS
Crime Related	0	0	0		0	0		0
Firecrackers	0	0	0		0	0		0
Money	0	6	0		0	1		7
Parenting	12	16	2		2	0		32
Recorder	0	4	0		0	2		6
Role playing	0	0	0		0	0		0
School	0	0	0		0	0		0
Sport	0	0	0		0	0		0
Taxi	0	0	0		0	0		0
Technology	0	12	0		0	0		12
Trade	0	6	0		0	0		6

Appendix 4.8: Adult males

a) Languages used in turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	Adult Male Insert Afrikaans	Adult Male Insert English	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Adult Male Intersentential Switch	Adult Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Afrikaans	1	1	2	1	0	3
English	0	2	2	1	0	3
Sotho	0	0	0	1	0	1
Undetermined	0	2	2	0	0	2
Zulu	3	46	49	1	6	56
TOTALS	4	51	55	4	6	65

b) Registers used in turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	Adult Male Insert Afrikaans	Adult Male Insert English	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Adult Male Intersentential Switch	Adult Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Iscamtho	0	0	0	0	2	2
Local Variety - Neutral	3	48	51	2	4	57
Undetermined	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vulgar	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	3	48	51	2	6	59

c) Locations where turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho occurred

	Adult Male Insert Afrikaans	Adult Male Insert English	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Adult Male Intersentential Switch	Adult Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Backroom	0	2	2	0	0	2
House	2	24	26	0	0	26
Shop	1	18	19	2	6	27
Street	0	2	2	0	0	2
Yard	0	2	2	0	0	2
TOTALS	3	48	51	2	6	59

d) Addressees of turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	Adult Male Insert Afrikaans	Adult Male Insert English	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Adult Male Intersentential Switch	Adult Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Adult Female	1	13	14	0	0	14
Adult Male	0	8	8	0	3	11
Elderly Female	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elderly Male	0	0	0	0	0	0
Young Teenager Male	0	0	0	0	0	0
Child Same Age Female	0	0	0	0	0	0
Child same Age Male	0	0	0	0	0	0
Younger Child Female	2	20	22	2	2	26
Younger Child Male	0	7	7	0	1	8
TOTALS	3	48	51	2	6	59

e) Topics discussed in turns containing borrowings, alternations and Iscamtho

	Adult Male Insert Afrikaans	Adult Male Insert English	TOTAL BORROWINGS	Adult Male Intersentential Switch	Adult Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS:
Crime Related	0	0	0	0	0	0
Firecrackers	0	1	1	0	0	1
Money	1	3	4	0	2	6
Parenting	1	17	18	0	1	19
Recorder	1	4	5	0	0	5
Role playing	0	0	0	0	0	0
School	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sport	0	0	0	0	0	0
Taxi	0	0	0	0	0	0
Technology	0	9	9	0	0	9
Trade	0	6	6	0	2	8

Appendix 4.9: Elderly females

a) Languages used in turns containing borrowings and alternations

	Elderly Female Insert Afrikaans	Elderly Female Insert English	Elderly Female Insert Zulu	TOTAL BORROWINGS	Elderly Intersentential Switch	TOTALS
Afrikaans	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bantu Other	0	0	0	0	0	0
English	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sotho	2	4	1	7	1	8
Undetermined	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zulu	2	1	0	3	1	4
TOTALS	4	5	1	10	2	12

b) Registers used in turns containing borrowings and alternations

	Elderly Female Insert Afrikaans	Elderly Female Insert English	Elderly Female Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Elderly Intersentential Switch	TOTALS:
Iscamtho	0	0	0	0	0	0
Local Variety - Neutral	4	5	1	10	1	11
Undetermined	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vulgar	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	4	4	1	10	1	11

c) Locations where turns containing borrowings and alternations occurred

	Elderly Female Insert Afrikaans	Elderly Female Insert English	Elderly Female Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Elderly Intersentential Switch	TOTALS
Backroom	2	0	0	2	0	2
House	2	2	1	5	0	5
Shop	0	0	0	0	0	0
Street	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yard	0	3	0	3	1	4
TOTALS	4	5	1	10	1	11

d) Addressees of turns containing borrowings and alternations

	Elderly Female Insert Afrikaans	Elderly Female Insert English	Elderly Female Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Elderly Intersentential Switch	TOTALS
Adult Female	1	3	0	4	1	5
Adult Male	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elderly Female	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elderly Male	0	0	0	0	0	0
Young Teenager Male	0	0	0	0	0	0
Younger Child Female	3	0	1	4	0	4
Younger Child Male	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	4	3	1	8	1	9

e) Topics discussed in turns containing borrowings and alternations

	Elderly Female Insert Afrikaans	Elderly Female Insert English	Elderly Female Insert Zulu	TOTALS BORROWINGS	Elderly Female Intersentential Switch	TOTALS
Crime Related	0	0	0	0	0	0
Firecrackers	0	0	0	0	0	0
Money	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parenting	3	0	0	3	0	3
Recorder	0	3	1	4	1	5
Role playing	0	0	0	0	0	0
School	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sport	0	0	0	0	0	0
Taxi	0	0	0	0	0	0
Technology	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trade	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix 4.10: Elderly males

a) Languages used in turns containing borrowings and Iscamtho

	Elderly Male Insert English	Elderly Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Afrikaans	0	0	0
Bantu Other	0	0	0
English	0	0	0
Sotho	0	0	0
Undetermined	0	0	0
Zulu	1	1	2
TOTALS	1	1	2

b) Registers used in turns containing borrowings and Iscamtho

	Elderly Male Insert English	Elderly Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS
Iscamtho	0	0	0
Local Variety - Neutral	1	1	2
Undetermined	0	0	0
Vulgar	0	0	0
TOTALS	1	1	2

c) Locations where turns containing borrowings and Iscamtho occurred

	Elderly Male Insert English	Elderly Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS:
Backroom	0	0	0
House	0	0	0
Shop	1	1	2
Street	0	0	0
Yard	0	0	0
TOTALS	1	1	2

d) Addressees of turns containing borrowings and Iscamtho

	Elderly Male Insert English	Elderly Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS:
Adult Female	1	0	1
Adult Male	0	0	0
Elderly Female	0	0	0
Elderly Male	0	0	0
Younger Child Female	0	0	0
Younger Child Male	0	1	1
TOTALS	1	1	2

e) Topics discussed in turns containing borrowings and Iscamtho

	Elderly Male Insert English	Elderly Male Insert Iscamtho	TOTALS:
Crime Related	0	0	0
Firecrackers	0	0	0
Money	0	0	0
Parenting	0	0	0
Recorder	0	0	0
Role playing	0	0	0
School	0	0	0
Sport	0	0	0
Taxi	0	0	0
Technology	0	0	0
Trade	0	1	1

Appendix 5: Table of Codes

The following table provides a thorough count of all of the repartition of each type of code in each transcript. Codes are grouped by Code Families, and a total count of all codes appears on the last line of the table.

This table aims at giving an overview of each transcript, to help the reader understand how the data provided in Appendix 7 was analysed. Note that the codes ‘Insert Iscamtho’ and ‘Insert Prison Slang’ were placed in the ‘Language Mix’ family, as they represent a form of lexical insertion. This avoided created a separate family for these two codes only.

The repartition of codes by Code Families is the following:

Language: Afrikaans; Language: Bantu Other; Language: English; Language: Sotho; Language: Undetermined; Language: Zulu.

Location: Backroom; House; Shop; Street; Yard

Mix: Insert Afrikaans; Insert Bantu Other; Insert English; Insert Iscamtho; Insert Prison Slang Lexicon; Insert Sotho; Insert Zulu;
Intersentential Switch; Intrasentential Switch

Register: Iscamtho; Local Variety - Neutral Register; Standard variety; Undetermined; Vulgar.

Speaker: Adult; Age 5-6; Age 7-9; Elderly; Female; Male; Older Teenager; Under 5; Young Teenager.

Supervision: Adult; Elderly; Female; Male; None; Older Child; Teenager.

Addressee: To: Adult; To: Child same age; To: Early Teenager; To: Elderly; To: Female; To: Late Teenager; To: Older Child;
To: Older Teenager; To: Speaking alone; To: Young Teenager; To: Younger Child.

Topic: Crime Related; Firecrackers; Money; Parenting; Recorder; Role playing; School; Sport; Taxi; Technology; Trade

	Transcript 1	Transcript 2	Transcript 3	Transcript 4	Transcript 5	Transcript 6	Transcript 7	TOTALS
Language: Afrikaans	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	4
Language: Bantu Other	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
Language: English	36	0	13	0	15	10	10	84
Language: Sotho	7	9	1	0	1	44	67	129
Language: Undetermined	25	5	29	2	10	4	6	81
Language: Zulu	890	188	297	55	320	202	164	2116
TOTALS LANGUAGE	960	202	342	57	347	262	247	2417
Location: Backroom	0	0	79	0	0	166	103	348
Location: House	23	5	0	26	175	10	24	263
Location: Shop	6	0	212	0	34	0	1	253
Location: Street	916	187	21	3	93	28	25	1273
Location: Yard	1	7	17	28	28	45	75	201
TOTALS LOCATION	946	199	329	57	330	249	228	2338
Mix: Insert Afrikaans	25	5	14	0	19	11	3	77
Mix: Insert Bantu Other	5	0	2	0	0	0	0	7
Mix: Insert English	232	56	54	25	141	77	45	630
Mix: Insert Iscamtho	84	52	5	1	28	8	9	187
Mix: Insert Prison Slang Lexicon	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	9
Mix: Insert Sotho	7	2	0	0	5	7	8	29
Mix: Insert Zulu	2	0	0	0	0	3	8	13
Mix: Intersentential Switch	6	1	4	0	4	5	13	33
Mix: Intrасentential Switch	7	2	2	0	7	6	8	32
TOTALS MIX	368	127	81	26	204	117	94	1017

Register: Iscamtho	59	54	2	1	29	10	8	163
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	884	139	308	54	293	235	215	2128
Register: Standard variety	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Register: Undetermined	2	0	11	2	1	3	1	20
Register: Vulgar	1	6	0	0	4	1	2	14
TOTALS REGISTER	946	199	321	57	327	249	226	2325
Speaker: Adult	22	5	133	1	92	32	4	289
Speaker: Age 5-6	0	88	1	6	0	0	0	95
Speaker: Age 7-9	919	64	0	13	233	207	77	1513
Speaker: Elderly	2	0	4	0	1	7	0	14
Speaker: Female	14	15	260	50	272	248	1	860
Speaker: Male	927	183	68	4	53	0	226	1461
Speaker: Older Teenager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Speaker: Under 5	0	7	188	31	1	0	134	361
Speaker: Young Teenager	0	35	0	0	1	0	13	49
TOTALS SPEAKER	1884	397	654	105	653	494	455	4642
Supervision: Adult	8	12	191	37	96	91	22	457
Supervision: Elderly	0	0	1	0	12	11	0	24
Supervision: Female	6	1	140	22	81	80	0	330
Supervision: Male	3	9	137	16	55	3	39	262
Supervision: None	916	178	1	0	138	117	175	1525
Supervision: Older Child	0	1	0	11	0	0	0	12
Supervision: Teenager	0	7	0	0	0	0	18	25
TOTALS SUPERVISION	933	208	470	86	382	302	254	2635

To: Adult	11	4	147	17	106	35	3	323
To: Child same age	904	24	20	0	138	169	64	1319
To: Early Teenager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
To: Elderly	2	0	4	0	1	5	0	12
To: Female	4	14	259	52	261	237	1	828
To: Late Teenager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
To: Older Child	0	44	15	16	13	0	75	163
To: Older Teenager	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
To: Speaking alone	7	6	5	1	0	0	14	33
To: Young Teenager	0	42	0	0	0	0	19	61
To: Younger Child	22	77	138	21	72	42	53	425
TOTALS ADDRESSEE	950	212	588	107	591	488	229	3165
Topic: Crime Related	1	44	2	0	1	0	0	48
Topic: Firecrackers	1	0	0	0	21	0	0	22
Topic: Money	16	15	7	3	20	1	4	66
Topic: Parenting	20	7	215	32	39	52	23	388
Topic: Recorder	140	14	8	19	31	26	2	240
Topic: Role playing	213	20	2	10	22	4	10	281
Topic: School	2	0	0	0	11	0	0	13
Topic: Sport	6	0	0	0	0	1	2	9
Topic: Taxi	208	0	0	0	0	0	0	208
Topic: Technology	2	0	0	0	36	12	50	100
Topic: Trade	20	1	6	0	12	4	1	44
TOTALS TOPIC	629	101	240	64	193	100	92	1419
TOTALS:	7616	1645	3025	559	3027	2261	1825	19958

Appendix 6: Data

The following documents feature the full data transcribed from recordings of children. Each transcript is numbered. And each turn of speech analysed is numbered in each transcript. Pages are numbered from 1 in each transcript.

The spelling of each turn respects the Zulu, Sotho, English and Afrikaans spelling when the sentence is in any of these languages. Borrowings are spelt according to the source language spelling most of the times, except if they are phonologically adapted to the base language, in which case they are spelt according to the rules of this base language.

Borrowings are italicised. Iscamtho terms are in bold. If an Iscamtho term is from foreign origin, it may be both in italics and in bold.

Detail of the transcripts is as follows:

Transcript 1: Seven-year-old boy – 57 pages

Transcript 2: Five-year-old boy – 13 pages

Transcript 3: Four-year-old girl – 20 pages

Transcript 4: Four-year-old girl – 4 pages

Transcript 5: Nine-year-old girl – 21 pages

Transcript 6: Seven-year-old girl – 16 pages

Transcript 7: Three-year-old boy – 14 pages

Recording 1

0001

0002

0003

0004 Mm sul'izandla

0005 *Wipe you hands*

0006

0007 Laphaya kaboSello Kagiso nenzani

0008 *There at Sello's place Kagiso what are you (pl.) doing?*

0009

0010 Siyadlala

0011 *We are playing*

0012

0013 Nidlalani? Nidlala umdlalo otheni?

0014 *What are you playing? What kind of game are you playing?*

0015

0016 USello yena akacoli kaso wena kanjani? *Why?* (SZ: -ngcola)

0017 *Solly doesn't get dirty like this you how (are you)? Why?*

0018

0019 Mangambiza uSello manje yena uskoon

0020 *If I call solly now he is clean*

0021

0022 Wena wayi ucola kaso? Seyi-on lento leyo

0023 *You why do you get dirty like this? Is that thing on?*

0024

0025 Ithi aze ke fast. Anipresi presi lapho, ne?

0026 *Let him come very quick. You (pl.) don't just press and press there, alright?*

0027

0028 Awuthinti lapho, ne?

0029 *You don't touch anything there ok*

0030

0031 Wenze izi, omunye umtwana akasondeli phambikwakho athi 'ithi ngibone', ne? Nami ungizele

0032 *Make it easy, any other child must not come forward and say 'let me look', right. And come to me*

0033

0034 Yimalini?

0035 *How much it is*

0036

0037 1 randi ziyadura lezinto

0038 *One rand, they're expensive these things*

0039

0040 Koko?

0041 *Knock knock*

0042

0043 Yebo baba

0044 *Yes man / boy*

0045

0046 Ngicela **amazonke** ayi-3

0047 *Can I have three (packets of) chips? (simba style chips)*

0048

0049 Uthi akhona nje mfana. Mina **Thuts**' ngisazowabopha amanye, uyezwa

0050 *You say there are still some, boy. Look Thuthuka (Thutso) I'm gonna tie some more, you know*

Language: Zulu

Location: House

Register: Local Variety - Neutral

Speaker: Adult

Speaker: Female

Speaker: Mother

To: Male

To: Relative

To: Younger Child

Topic: Parenting

Language: Zulu

Location: House

Register: Local Variety - Neutral

Speaker: Adult

Speaker: Female

Speaker: Mother

To: Male

To: Relative

To: Younger Child

Topic: Parenting

Language: Zulu

Location: House

Register: Local Variety - Neutral

Speaker: Age 7-9

Speaker: Male

Supervision: Adult

Supervision: Female

To: Adult

To: Female

To: Mother

Topic: Parenting

Language: Zulu

Location: House

Register: Local Variety - Neutral

Speaker: Adult

Speaker: Female

Speaker: Mother

To: Male

To: Relative

To: Younger Child

Topic: Parenting

Language: English

Language: Zulu

Location: House

Mix: Insert English

Mix: Intersentential Switch

Mix: Transfer

Register: Local Variety - Neutral

Speaker: Adult

Speaker: Female

Speaker: Mother

To: Male

To: Relative

To: Younger Child

Topic: Parenting

Language: Zulu

Location: House

Mix: Insert Afrikaans

Register: Local Variety - Neutral

Speaker: Adult

Speaker: Female

Speaker: Mother

To: Male

To: Relative

To: Younger Child

Topic: Parenting

Language: Zulu

Location: House

Mix: Insert English

Mix: Transfer

Register: Local Variety - Neutral

Speaker: Adult

Speaker: Male

Speaker: Relative

Supervision: Adult

Supervision: Male

To: Male

To: Relative

To: Younger Child

Topic: Parenting

Topic: Recorder

Language: Zulu

Location: House

Mix: Insert English

Register: Local Variety - Neutral

Speaker: Adult

Speaker: Male

Speaker: Relative

To: Male

To: Relative

To: Younger Child

Topic: Parenting

Topic: Recorder

Language: Zulu

Location: House

Register: Local Variety - Neutral

Speaker: Adult

Speaker: Female

Speaker: Mother

To: Male

To: Relative

To: Younger Child

Topic: Parenting

Topic: Recorder

Language: Zulu

Location: House

Mix: Insert English

Register: Local Variety - Neutral

Speaker: Adult

Speaker: Male

Speaker: Relative

To: Male

To: Relative

To: Younger Child

Topic: Parenting

Topic: Recorder

Language: Zulu

Location: House

Mix: Insert Afrikaans

Mix: Insert English

Register: Local Variety - Neutral

Speaker: Adult

Speaker: Male

Speaker: Relative

To: Adult

To: Female

To: Mother

Topic: Money

Topic: Recorder

Language: Zulu

Location: Shop

Register: Local Variety - Neutral

Speaker: Age 7-9

Speaker: Male

Supervision: None

To: Elderly

To: Female

Topic: Trade

Language: Zulu

Location: Shop

Register: Local Variety - Neutral

Speaker: Elderly

Speaker: Female

To: Male

To: Younger Child

Topic: Trade

Language: Zulu

Location: Shop

Mix: Insert English

Mix: Insert Iscamtho

Register: Local Variety - Neutral

Speaker: Age 7-9

Speaker: Male

Supervision: None

To: Elderly

To: Male

Topic: Trade

Language: Zulu

Location: Shop

Mix: Insert Iscamtho

Speaker: Elderly

Speaker: Male

To: Male

Topic: Trade

0051
0052 Bakuthumile wena. Wenzani?
0053 *They sent you (to the shop) What are you doing?*
0054
0055 Hambo dlala ke *shuta*
0056 *Go and play shooters*
0057
0058 Bazonginika amanye
0059 *They will give me some others*
0060
0061 Bazokunika amanye?
0062 *They will give you some others*
0063
0064 Bazokunika nini? Uthenge 2 ?
0065 *When are they going to give you? You bought two?*
0066
0067 Ngithe 3
0068 *I said three*
0069
0070 Bathini
0071 *What did they said?*
0072
0073 Bathe bazonginika amanye
0074 *They said they will give me more*
0075
0076 Ufuna ukuyowalanda?
0077 *You want to go and pick them*
0078
0079 Hambo dlala ke
0080 *Go and play then*
0081
0082 Angithi uzwile ukuthi sitheni
0083 *Anyway you hear we said what*
0084
0085 Niks **magaya** niks everything niks zonke zomhlaba niks Khotli
0086 *No giving, no everything, no anything of the world, no Courtley*
0087 *(A way to say 'you wont get anything' - Courtley is a popular cigarette brand)*
0088
0089 **kwaai kwaai**
0090 *Give give (lit.: angry, angry)*
0091
0092 Masend' enkomo
0093 *Cattles testicles!*
0094 *(Children answer to the 'niks magaya' to convince them to share.)*
0095
0096 Indunu Indunu
0097 *He's an arse, an arse*
0098
0099 Mina bheka, uyabona?
0100 *Just look, can you see ?*

Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Firecrackers
Location: House Speaker: Male To: Parenting
Mix: Insert English To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Parenting
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Relative To: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Mother To: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male To: Trade
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult To: Trade
Location: House Speaker: Male To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Relative To: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Parenting
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult To: Trade
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Mother To: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Mother To: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Relative
Location: House Speaker: Mother To: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Speaker: Adult To: Male
Language: Undertermined Mix: Insert Zulu To: Child same age
Location: Street Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Age 7-9
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Supervision: None
Location: Street To: Child same age
Register: Vulgar To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

0101
0102 Mina ngithathe encani nje
0103 *I just took little*
0104
0105 **Xava** uHluphi **ntwana**
0106 *Look at Hlophi myfriend*
0107
0108 Mina ngithathe encani yaz' ukuthi why angifuni ukucedela omunye umtwana amazenke
0109 *I just took little you know why, I don't want to finish the chips for some of my friend*
0110
0111 Yimalini amazenke
0112 *It's how much the chips?*
0113
0114 *Yi-1 rand*
0115 *It is 1 rand*
0116
0117 Ngithenge nge-five rand
0118 *I bought with five rand*
0119
0120 Ngithenge ayi-2
0121 *I bought two*
0122
0123 Aphi amanye?
0124 *Where are the rest?*
0125
0126 Ak'siyiwo lawa
0127 *These it's not yours*
0128
0129 Yinto yokumamela
0130 *This thing is to listen?*
0131
0132 *Yi-phone*
0133 *It is a phone*
0134
0135 UNkosi unephone
0136 *Nkosi has a phone*
0137
0138 Ak'si phone (akusiyiphone)
0139 *It is not a phone*
0140
0141 Ithi ungibheke
0142 *Let me see*
0143
0144 Ungayikhiphi **gipi** wena
0145 *Don't take it out you fool*
0146 (possibly from Afrikaans kiepie which is found in the expression Kiepie die kont "Kippy the cunt", often abbreviated to kiepie. The word also means chicken) or (SZ isigipi, valley, isihlonipho)
0147
0148 Yilentuza, wo leyokukhuluma
0149 *What is it, ok it is for talking*

Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Location: Street Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Speaker: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Money
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Money
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Money
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Trade
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Trade
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Topic: Recorder
Register: Iscamtho
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Male
Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

0150
0151 He wena
0152 *Hey you*
0153
0154 Makakhuluma nomamakhe ya mama *I'm in house*
0155 *When he speaks with his mother, yeah mom, I'm in the house*
0156 *Correct form*(Uma ekhuluma no mama wakhe...)
0157
0158 '-cel' ukubheka, ngiyabheka
0159 *Can I take a look, I'm looking*
0160
0161 He ena yo wena
0162 *No, no you*
0163
0164 Mama *I'm in home ok mababy*
0165
0166 Yo bheka
0167 *Just look*
0168
0169 Mami, mami *I'm in house*, ya *or* makakhuluma *netsheri* yakhe, *baby* ngiyakuthanda, uyayibona, le mawuceda uyayikhipha izokufakafaka
0170 *Mummy mummy I'm in the house, yeah or when he talks with his girlfriend, baby I love you, you see, after he take it out this will keep you going*
0171
0172 Ubabakho owenza kanjalo
0173 *It is your father doing all this*
0174
0175 Uwathathela angithi **amapaniki**
0176 *You collect beer caps?*
0177
0178 '-cel' ungaye Khwezi
0179 *Can you give me Khwezi*
0180
0181 Ngiyakucela!
0182 *I'm begging*
0183
0184 Khwezi !
0185
0186 Yah?
0187 *Yeah?*
0188
0189 Yini leyo?
0190 *What is that?*
0191
0192 It's a ball
0193
0194 '-cel' ungaye Khwezi
0195 *Can you give me Khwezi*
0196
0197 Umi kumnyango

Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Mix: Intrasentential Switch To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Speaking alone
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None Topic: Recorder
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: English Speaker: Age 7-9
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Mix: Insert English To: Child same age
Mix: Insert Iscamtho To: Male
Mix: Intrasentential Switch
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu To: Male
Location: Street
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Male
Supervision: None
To: Child same age
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male

0198 *You are in the doorway /blocking the doorway*
0199
0200 Akuvuleki
0201 *It doesn't open*
0202
0203 Kube nigaye uKS ngoba ak'siyimi wuKhwezi
0204 *You have just give KS because it is not me, it's Khwezi*
0205
0206 '-yazi batheni, bathe woza sibacele sicamb' amanga, sigaye uKS kanti sizothath' uPhindi
 'to create')
0207 *You know what they told us, they said come, we must make up lies and give KB but we took Phindi*
0208
0209 Abangani sho sikhulume nini? Sikhulumile
0210 *Friends, yeah, when did we say that? We said it*
0211
0212 Haa mina angiyanga, yimi bengizise phambile ngithi mm *man cooper*
0213 *No guys I did not go, its me who brought them on front and said mmm mini cooper*
0214
0215 Thatha
0216 *Take*
0217
0218 Ung'gaya yona?
0219 *Can you give to me*
0220
0221 Huwi kuyab^aora ukuhlala kulendlu unganamali
0222 *It is boring to stay at this house without money*
0223
0224 KS bheka
0225 *Look KS*
0226
0227 Uyang'gaya? Hluphi udlala nathi angithi ebusuku?
0228 *Can you give me? Hluphi are you playing with us at night?*
0229
0230 Baba ngo-8 bayayithatha lento
0231 *Man at eight they are taking this thing*
0232
0233 Sasa abayithathi
0234 *Tomorrow they don't take it*
0235
0236 Akunandaba angithi, nani benicala ukuyibona
0237 *There's no problem you know, even you it was the first time to see it*
0238
0239 **Gumulani**, ice ene-juice (SZ: gumula, 'take off a coat', khumbula 'remember')
0240 *Remember guys, ice with juice*
0241
0242 Ngyithathe yiphi laphaya?
0243 *Where is what I must take there?*
0244
0245 E-orange
0246 *The orange one*

(SZ: qamba,

Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Mix: Insert Iscamtho To: Child same age
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male To: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male To: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None

0247
0248 Esemuva
0249 *The one at the back*
0250
0251 **Gumulani, gumulani** , mina ngithand' iPosh
0252 *Remember, Remember guys, me I love the Porsche*
0253
0254 Ay' nami yoh
0255 *Ho me too*
0256
0257 Indlula le BM ewhite uyayibona lewhite
0258 *It it better than that white BM, can you see that white*
0259
0260 Mina ngithanda iPosh eligrey
0261 *I love the grey Porsche*
0262
0263 Mina ngithanda lemoto eorange
0264 *I love that orange car*
0265
0266 Mina ngithanda le konje yini?
0267 *I like that one what is it?*
0268
0269 Mini cooper!
0270
0271 Ah mina eyami yiPosh
0272 *Haa me mine it's a Porsche*
0273
0274 Uyayazi uHluphi
0275 *Hluphi knows that*
0276
0277 Ubulani ngama-ice wejuice, sike sawadla la
0278 *What do you remember about this iced juice, those we had there*
0279
0280 Ngengoba sisebholweni
0281 *While we were at the football field*
0282
0283 Lena enkulu udlala ngayo?
0284 *Is it the big one you are you playing with?*
0285
0286 Nali Khwezi lena lebhasi
0287 *Here Khwezi it is here that bus*
0288
0289 Ubuthi wami uyicelile levaseline, uthe akayifuni kodwa uyicedile
0290 *My brother asked for the Vaseline, he said he doesn't want it but he finished it*
0291
0292 Ubani?
0293 *Who?*
0294
0295 Ubuthi wami, uthe akayifuni manje wayiqeda
0296 *My brother, he didn't want it he finished it*

Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Undertermined Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

0297
0298 *I-vaseline*
0299 *The Vaseline*
0300
0301 Yi Mini Cooper igama layo
0302 *It's called a mini cooper*
0303
0304 Uyagula, inkulu i-Mini Cooper (SZ: -gula 'to turn ill')
0305 *you are mad, the big one is a mini cooper*
0306
0307 Ngithe Mini Cooper
0308 *I said mini cooper*
0309
0310 *Uthe mili cooper*
0311 *You said mili cooper*
0312
0313 Unamanga ngithe *mini cooper*
0314 *You are lying I said mini cooper*
0315
0316 Ayi lena seyangidina **ikara**
0317 *No this car is very boring (is boring me)*
0318
0319 Yi leya
0320 *Is it that one*
0321
0322 Haa ak'sileya
0323 *No it is not this one*
0324
0325 Kodwa leya iyavaya ukudlula leya
0326 *But this one goes better than that one*
0327
0328 Uyitholile ne?
0329 *You found it, didn't you?*
0330
0331 Mina angisho le-ice lena mina, ngisho le eyelo
0332 *I'm not saying this ice there me, I'm saying the yellow one*
0333
0334 UHluphi uke wayenza
0335 *Hluphi did that*
0336
0337 Re tlo qabana ake batle bana moo. Hambani *emakini*. O se ke wa tlisa bana mona ha ona bana moo
0338 *We will have an argument. I don't want any kids there, go to the UNKNOWN. Don't bring children here the are no kids here*
0339
0340 Phumani la Dum'sile
0341 *Go out here Dumisile*
0342
0343 Nkosi lethu
0344 *Nkosi bring it*
0345

Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: Adult
Mix: Intersentential Switch To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: Street Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: Street Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age

0346 Yei phumani la. Ha ke batle bana mona
0347 *Get out of here. I don't want kids here*
0348
0349 Angithi ngapha kunemoto eredi la
0350 *Hey there is the red car here*
0351
0352 Ikhona imini khupha eyami
0353 *My mini cooper is here*
0354
0355 Hayi ngapha
0356 *Not in here*
0357
0358 Kodwa uHluphi unemini cooper eredi enkulu
0359 *But Hluphi has a big red mini cooper*
0360
0361 Kithi kunamaphoisa Tseliso, ngiyeza
0362 *At our place there are police Tseliso, I'm coming*
0363
0364 Aye ye
0365 *Wacth out*
0366
0367 *Why?*
0368
0369 Mina angiyi
0370 *Me I am not going*
0371
0372 Soyaxhoma, soyaxhoma! (-qhoma to be fancy/strange; SZ: hang; impale)
0373 *We are nuts*
0374
0375 Uyabona, akunamuntu
0376 *You can see, there is nobody*
0377
0378 Lift no 1
0379
0380 Hayi lift
0381 *Not a lift*
0382
0383 Hai wena kunini ugibela
0384 *How many times were you riding*
0385
0386 '-thi ngilahle lento, ubani oyifunayo?
0387 *Let me trough this thing, who is it that needs this?*
0388
0389 Yini?
0390 *What is it?*
0391
0392 Yi-file
0393 *It's a file*
0394
0395 Eish, inyayo

Language: Sotho Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult
Location: Yard Speaker: Female
Mix: Intersentential Switch To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male

0396 Ouch, my foot
0397
0398 Dankie, ha ne?
0399 Thank you, yeah?
0400
0401 Woza!
0402 Come
0403
0404 Yo gidla, fat kakhulu lo
0405 Wow sleep, fat big man this one
0406
0407 mina ngimcondo nje, ngathi yistick sometchisi lo ohlala ebondeni lethu
0408 I am thin-legged like this, like a matchstick, the one who stays on our wall
0409
0410 Stick somatchisi ntwana
0411 Match stick my friend
0412
0413 Wena uyasigwiny’ amazinyo
0414 You’re swallowing teeth (hetero-concordance c7/c10)
0415
0416 Ungaka, baba
0417 He's so big, man
0418
0419 Ushoti, ulingana noMsi
0420 He is short, he is like Msi
0421
0422 UMSi us'dudla ntwana
0423 Msi is fat my friend
0424
0425 Mawumkuka yo, uyasinda leya
0426 When you lift him wow, he is heavy this one
0427
0428 NoJeso
0429 And Jeso as well
0430
0431 Akunamzwinki ephakini
0432 There is no swing at the park
0433
0434 Hai iphaka yethu yokuhlala
0435 The park is ours to stay at
0436
0437 Yoo itayera elincani
0438 What a small wheel
0439
0440 Uyaxava ukuthi lincane kanjani
0441 Do yo see how small it is
0442
0443 Ngiyothatha amanye amazenke
0444 I am going to take some chips
0445

Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Male To: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: Male
Register: Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

0446 Hey police!
0447
0448 Wo bacabanga ukuthi uhlala la
0449 *Wow they think that you stay there*
0450
0451 Ucabanga ukuthi uhlala lena
0452 *He thinks that you stay there*
0453
0454 Hambela estradini
0455 *Go to the street*
0456
0457 S'm'bel' estradini *why?*
0458 *We walk on the street, why?*
0459
0460 Iinyawo kahle
0461 *The feet it's good*
0462
0463 *That's why* ngifuna ukukhumula iqhathulo
0464 *That is why I want to take the shoes off*
0465
0466 Ngikugayile, nami ngicela ipiecenyana
0467 *I gave you, me too can I have a little piece*
0468
0469 Ngicela ipiecenyana
0470 *I ask for a little piece*
0471
0472 Phel' i-ice
0473 *For real it is ice*
0474
0475 Konje?
0476 *What then?*
0477
0478 Ndoda iinyawo
0479 *Man your feet*
0480
0481 Lana ngathi sizowa yo
0482 *We are going to fall here, wow*
0483
0484 Ima kucala
0485 *Just wait*
0486
0487 Phangisa
0488 *Hurry up*
0489
0490 Ungabheki isandla la
0491 *Don't put your hand here*
0492
0493 Kuncono ngo-Caroline ngama-holidays
0494 *It is better with Caroline on holidays*
0495

(Caroline is the name of a local petrol station, important taxi hub)

Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Location: Street Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

0496 Avalile amakresh
0497 Crèches are close
0498
0499 Wonke neyis'kolo
0500 Even school too
0501
0502 Nobuthi wami uvalile
0503 My brother too is closed
0504
0505 Emsebenzini?
0506 At work?
0507
0508 Sekazosebenza?
0509 Is he working ?
0510
0511 Bekasebenza angithi?
0512 He was working, right?
0513
0514 Usafunda isikolo, sekazoceda
0515 He is still studying at school, he will be finishing
0516
0517 Futhi sakasicedile
0518 Plus he is finished already
0519
0520 Uphasile umetrik?
0521 Did he pass matric (high school exam)
0522
0523 uphasile kugrade 12
0524 He passed to grade 12
0525
0526 Asambe
0527 Lets go
0528
0529 Hluphi woza
0530 Hluphi come
0531
0532 Yayilapho, izane-2012 (c9 instead of c1)
0533 He is there, he comes with 2012
0534
0535 Haa Hluphi ipake lana
0536 Ha Hluphi park it here
0537
0538 Yazi izongincolisa lento (SZ: Ngcolisa)
0539 This will make me dirty
0540
0541 Umamami uzopaka kuphi ke
0542 My mother where will she park then?
0543
0544 Haa thina sesizohamba
0545 Ha us we are on our way now

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: Street Supervision: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: None
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: School
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: School
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Innovation Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

0546
0547 Wena sihlangana nawe, manje sewufuna ukuhlala nathi
0548 *We just come across you, now you want to stay with us*
0549
0550 Usithole sidlala
0551 *You found us playing*
0552
0553 Baleka! Baleka!
0554 *Run away*
0555
0556 Woza ngikubonise
0557 *Come so I show you*
0558
0559 Asambe siyodlala ikharati futhi
0560 *Let us go and play karate again*
0561
0562 Ufuna ukuthi iphuke *iphone*
0563 *You want the phone to break*
0564
0565 Ithi ngibone *iphone* yakho
0566 *Let me see your phone*
0567
0568 Belokhu ngayikhiphi
0569 *I was still not taking it out*
0570
0571 '-Phone yakho, ngicela ukuzwa *umusic*
0572 *Your phone, can I hear music?*
0573
0574 Cela ukuza
0575 *Ask to come*
0576
0577 Akusimusic
0578 *It is not music*
0579
0580 Yini? Uyakhuluma?
0581 *What is it? Are you talking?*
0582
0583 Ok wena KS ngenhloko enkulu
0584 *Ok you KS with the big head*
0585
0586 **Wena san'** Vusi, awungikhaphe lapho KK?
0587 *Hey you boy Vusi, put me half way there to KK*
0588
0589 Seyeve?
0590 *Where are we going*
0591
0592 KaboLwazi
0593 *To Lwazi's (and her family's) place*
0594
0595 Siyothenga, Eno *and* Grand pa

	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
	Location: Street	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
	Location: Street	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
	Location: Street	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
	Location: Street	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
	Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
	Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
	Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
	Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
	Location: Street	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
	Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
	Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
	Location: Street	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
	Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
	Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
	Location: Street	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
	Location: Street	Speaker: Male	
	Mix: Insert Iscamtho	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
	Location: Street	Speaker: Male	
	Mix: Insert Iscamtho	Supervision: None	
	Register: Iscamtho	To: Child same age	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
	Location: Street	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
	Language: English	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age

0596 We are going to buy, Eno and Grand pa
0597
0598 Yazi lento izwakala kuphi ke
0599 You know where this thing is being heard?
0600
0601 Ningayikhiphi lento le, ningayikhi **majents** this thing ne?
0602 Don't (you guys) take this thing there, don't take it out gents this this, alright?
0603
0604 Naba abangani bakho, hambodlala nabo
0605 There are your friends, go and play with them
0606
0607 Ungayikhiphi epokotweni
0608 Don't take it out from the pocket
0609
0610 Uyibonile?
0611 Did you see it
0612
0613 Ithi ngixave **daideng** angiyibonanga kahle
0614 Let me see this, I did not see it very well
0615
0616 Ko ko, grand pa and eno
0617 Knock knock, Grandpa and Eno
0618
0619 Koko, koko! Ngicela iGrand pa neEno
0620 Knock, knock! Can I have grand pa and eno
0621
0622 I-Grand Pa iphelile **sani**
0623 The Grand pa is finished boy
0624
0625 Tata Lesebo!
0626 (grand)Father Lesebo
0627
0628 Yena utata uke wangigay' iswidi mahala
0629 The grandfather sometimes he gives me a sweet for free
0630
0631 Utata ucono ne? (SZ: ungcono)
0632 The grandfather is better isn't it?
0633
0634 Manje laba yooo
0635 Now (but) these other ones yooh
0636
0637 NoBusiso hayiii
0638 And Busiso nonono
0639
0640 Ucono utata hayi
0641 The grandfather is better, ho!
0642
0643 Kodwa utata uke wanginik' amachips mahala
0644 But sometimes the grandfather gives me chips for free
0645

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Trade
Mix: Intrasentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: English Mix: Intersentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Trade
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Trade
Location: Shop Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Trade
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert Bantu Other Speaker: Male Topic: Trade
Mix: Insert Sotho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Bantu Other Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Bantu Other Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Mix: Insert Sotho Supervision: None
Location: Street Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Mix: Insert Bantu Other Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male

0646 Kodwa uBusiso usleg
0647 *But Busiso is mean*
0648
0649 Ngithi angaye ipiecenyana, akancanywa
0650 *I asked him a little piece, he refused*
0651
0652 Cabanga mfowethu, amazimba (from the brand name Simba)
0653 *Just think my friend, snacks*
0654
0655 Eish cish' iphone
0656 *Ha turn off the phone*
0657
0658 '-Thi ngixave injani
0659 *Let me see how it is*
0660
0661 Uyabona ukuthi umusic
0662 *You see that its music*
0663
0664 I dont think so
0665
0666 Ufuna ukubona? Woza
0667 *You want to see? Come*
0668
0669 Awungaye ifireball eli-one
0670 *Give me one fire ball* (a kind of firecrackers)
0671
0672 Awungaye ipops
0673 *Give me a pop* (another kind of firecrackers)
0674
0675 '-mgani wakho
0676 *Your friend*
0677
0678 Nisadlala kaboThemba?
0679 *Are you still playing at Themba's place?*
0680
0681 Bheka, bheka. Bheka!
0682 *Look, look. Look!*
0683
0684 Ikhiphe ngibheke
0685 *Take it out so I can see*
0686
0687 Uyaphuma?
0688 *Are you going out*
0689
0690 Ha ufuna '-kuthi ngakhulumi
0691 *No my friend you don't want me to talk*
0692
0693 Kanti uyakhona ukukhuluma la (from Sotho -kgona)
0694 *Really you can speak here*
0695

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male
Language: Zulu Supervision: None
Location: Street To: Child same age
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

0696 Hayi baba, ufuna '-kuthi ngifake ephokothweni lakho
0697 *No man, you want me to put it on your pocket*
0698
0699 Ekhon' *iphone* yami, ak'sile, lana yinto yami yokukhuluma
0700 *The one here is my phone, it's not this one, this here is my thing to talk in*
0701
0702 *Iphone* yami angithi uyayazi
0703 *You know my phone anyway*
0704
0705 Bazothi ngiyoyithenga kaJabulani, ubheke
0706 *They will tell me to go and buy it at Jabulani's place, you should see*
0707
0708 Eno eyadura kaboJabulani
0709 *Eno is expensive at Jabulani's place*
0710
0711 Mhlambe yi-ten randi manje
0712 *Maybe it is ten rands now*
0713
0714 Mina ngiyabuya
0715 *I'm going back*
0716
0717 Haii, futhi one rand
0718 *No, one rand again*
0719
0720 Hayi mina bengaya
0721 *No me I could have gone*
0722
0723 Hayi, mina angifuni ke Jamani
0724 *No I don't want Jamani*
0725
0726 Haii ungayithengisi nge fifty cent
0727 *No, don't sell it at fifty cents*
0728
0729 OK ten cent
0730 *Ok ten cents*
0731
0732 Ya ya yebo
0733 *Yeah yeah, yes*
0734
0735 Yahh sheleni
0736 *Yes ten cent*
0737
0738 Kuncono
0739 *It is better*
0740
0741 Nami ngizothath' isheleni kithi
0742 *I'm going to take a 10 cent at home*
0743
0744 **Magaiva**
0745 *Give me*

Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Money
Mix: Insert Afrikaans	Supervision: None	Topic: Trade
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Money
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	Topic: Trade
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Money
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	Topic: Trade
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: English	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Money
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	Topic: Trade
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Money
Mix: Insert Iscamtho	Supervision: None	Topic: Trade
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Money
Mix: Insert Iscamtho	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	
Mix: Insert Iscamtho	Supervision: None	

0746
0747 Yini wena
0748 *What wrong with you*
0749
0750 *Ke* madekwane abhudzi
0751 *I'm very good*
0752 (*StVenda: Ndi madekwana avhudi 'good evening hello' (SSotho: abhudzi 'older brother')*)
0753
0754 Hayi wena angeke uze ukhulume, angeke uze ukhone, yimi engikhonayo
0755 *You can't talk, you can't make it, its only me that can*
0756
0757 Kuzozwa yaz' ubani? wuPhielo ozwayo
0758 *You know who will hear? It's Pierre who hears?*
0759
0760 '-Phielo uyezwa?
0761 *Pierre can hear?*
0762
0763 Unenzwiri engaka
0764 *You've got a big penis*
0765
0766 '-Nzwiri engaka
0767 *Big penis*
0768
0769 **Ntwana** uyayiwisa, uyayiwisa.
0770 *My friend you're making it fall, you're making it fall*
0771
0772 Uyayikhinya
0773 *You are boring (lit.: you are pressing it)*
0774 (*SZ: khinya ideo. of pressing down, IsiHlonipho: khinya, 'grind'*)
0775
0776 Khuluma, ngibheke. Kgosi khuluma
0777 *Talk, let me see. Kgosi talk*
0778
0779 Hela monna tutu, hala **peke**, hala **peke** monna hala **peke**
0780 *Hey man dude, hello back, hello back man hello back.*
0781 (*It was said by a standup comedian making a joke about Sotho rapper*)
0782
0783 Bheka seyikuphi
0784 *Look where it is*
0785
0786 *Ende, yah ngiyayithola ne?*
0787 *And, yeah I've got it, alright?*
0788
0789 **Ntwana**
0790 *My friend*
0791
0792 Wicimile uKS
0793 *KS must turn it off*
0794
0795 Angiyicimanga

Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Bantu Other Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Mix: Insert Sotho To: Child same age
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Mix: Insert Iscamtho To: Child same age
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Mix: Insert Iscamtho To: Child same age
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Speaking alone
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male

0796 *I did not turn it off*
0797
0798 **Khuluma, ngibeke ke**
0799 *Talk, let me see then*
0800
0801 **Ayicimanga lento ayicimanga**
0802 *it didn't turn off this thing, it didn't turn off*
0803
0804 **Khuluma**
0805 *Talk*
0806
0807 **Yo ngicimile**
0808 *Wow I turned it off*
0809
0810 **Ngiyicishe kancane**
0811 *I turned it off just a little*
0812
0813 **Wo ya angisayicishanga**
0814 *Wow yeah I'm didn't switch it off anymore*
0815
0816 **Kuncono uyibambe ngesandla**
0817 *It's better you held it in your hand*
0818
0819 **Imnandi ne?**
0820 *It's good, right?*
0821
0822 **Ngifun' itiyе, ubani ofuna itiyе?**
0823 *I want tea, who wants some tea?*
0824
0825 **Unamanga, amanzi**
0826 *You're lying, water*
0827
0828 **OK masikhulume ke**
0829 *Ok let us talk then*
0830
0831 **Athi Nombuso ucel' i-tissue**
0832 *Nombuso is asking for toilet paper*
0833
0834 **Awuliyakazanga nokuliyakaza**
0835 *You did not rinse it and rinse it again*
0836
0837 **Phuza ngalo, uNombuso uphuza angaliyakazanga angithi**
0838 *Drink with it, Nombuso drinks without rinsing it, sure*
0839
0840 **Ithi uMbuso akubonise amakhekhe akhe**
0841 *Let Mbuso show you her cakes*
0842
0843 **Hayi, he mfowethu **zwinkila****
0844 *No, my brother come*
0845

Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	
Mix: Insert Iscamtho	Supervision: None	
Register: Iscamtho	To: Child same age	

0846 Mina ngapha, wena ungapha
0847 *I'm this side, you are that side*
0848
0849 Ya Phiwe, uthini Sippiwe?
0850 *Yes Phiwe what are you saying Sippiwe?*
0851
0852 Ak'siphone
0853 *It is not a phone*
0854
0855 Iyalay'ta
0856 *It is lighting on*
0857
0858 Uphasile Sippiwe?
0859 *Did you pass (grades) Sippiwe?*
0860
0861 Ithi ngibo' (ngibona)
0862 *Let me see*
0863
0864 Bathe ungayikhiphi, uyabo' izoyenza (uyabona)
0865 *They said you mustn't take it out, do you see*
0866
0867 Bathe ngayikhipha
0868 *They said I can take it out*
0869
0870 Izolahleka
0871 *It will get lost*
0872
0873 Haa izolahleka
0874 *Ha it will get lost*
0875
0876 Mmm angeke isakhuluma
0877 *Mmmm it can't be still working (lit.: speaking)*
0878
0879 Uyakhuluma lana?
0880 *Do you talk there?*
0881
0882 My name is Vuyo Sotiya
0883
0884 Phuma ngapha
0885 *Go this way*
0886
0887 Iyenza ukuthi ibhalwe
0888 *It makes it to get written down*
0889
0890 Hayi ayibalangwa
0891 *No it doesn't get witten*
0892
0893 Ngo-8 bayayithatha
0894 *At eight they are taking it*
0895

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Speaking alone
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Speaking alone
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None Topic: Recorder
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

0896 Ilala kithi kodwa
0897 *It sleeps at my place otherwise*
0898
0899 Sasa izobekhona, ngithi hey yima boss!
0900 *Tommorow it will be here, I say hey stop boss!*
0901
0902 Ya abantu jahh
0903 *Yeah people haa*
0904
0905 Imfene
0906 *Monkey*
0907
0908 Sewusdudla man
0909 *You are now fat, man*
0910
0911 Mina ngigibel' ibayisikili, elika? Uhlala? Nakuphi? Nasekasi lethu?
0912 *I am ridng a bike, to? He stays (where)? And where? And in our street / location?*
0913 *(location is used in its South African meaning of 'township')*
0914
0915 Ya njani Mpilo?
0916 *Yes how Mpilo?*
0917
0918 Imhlope yi, na yimhlophe
0919 *It is white, and it is white*
0920
0921 Yonke indawo, mfana, imhlophe
0922 *Every place, boy, is white*
0923
0924 Kakhulu umbontsi wakhe
0925 *It is big, his fourth finger*
0926
0927 Nowami
0928 *Mine too*
0929
0930 Indaba, owame ngiwucampusile
0931 *The matter is, mine I cut it*
0932 *(-campulusa: unknown origin and meaning)*
0933
0934 Owakho umnyama, Vusi
0935 *Yours is black, Vusi*
0936
0937 Ume la uMsizi, makaceda uyafika
0938 *He was here uMsizi, after he arrived*
0939
0940 Ubani, ya hai lo wala
0941 *Who is this, yeah no this one there*
0942
0943 KunoMduduzi ekasi
0944 *There is mduduzi in our street*
0945

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Mix: Insert Iscamtho To: Child same age
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

0946 Ak'sukini, lana (Akusi kukini lana)
0947 *It is not your home, there*
0948
0949 KuKagiso?
0950 *It's Kagiso's place?*
0951
0952 Ubuthi ka Anele wena? Phela ngibazi abazali baka Anele, wena
0953 *Are you Anele's brother? In fac I know all of aphile's parents, ha you*
0954
0955 **Cava** umkenke wami
0956 *Look at my crack (under my feet)*
0957
0958 Mhh umkenke
0959 *Mmh it's a crack*
0960
0961 Nayi ngimphathele
0962 *Here it I should give it to him*
0963
0964 Yimi nginayo, uKS ugibelile lana
0965 *It's me who have it, KS climbed on here*
0966
0967 Wena awugibelanga
0968 *You you did not climb*
0969
0970 Eyakhuluma, awuzwanga?
0971 *It is talking, didn't you hear?*
0972
0973 Isakhala **ikara** yakho Vusi, *why?*
0974 *Your car is still making noise Vusi, why?*
0975
0976 **Xava** seyilay'ta kakhulu, uyabo'
0977 *Look it is lighting up a lot, you see*
0978
0979 Seyilay'ta kakhulu
0980 *It is lighting up a lot*
0981
0982 UMpilo emoteni yakhe, ngimdoba aphum' iring
0983 *Mpilo in his car, I'm drawing him without a ring*
0984
0985 Angeke ngikuboleke, bheka
0986 *I wont lend you , look*
0987
0988 Inawo amagame
0989 *It has games*
0990
0991 Awayenze lapho ngixave
0992 *Make (play) them there so I can see*
0993
0994 Hayi ngiyadlala ayinawo, ayina niks
0995 *No I'm joking it does not have, it does not have anything*

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Supervision: None
Location: Street To: Child same age
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Location: Street Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Speaker: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: None

0996
0997 Ngicela ungiboleke
0998 *Please lend it to me*
0999
1000 *Yiphone* eyami enamagame
1001 *My phone* has games
1002
1003 Mzamo ngikubolekile insimbi eyami enkulu
1004 *Mzamo I lended you my big steel*
1005
1006 Hayi ekuse yakho
1007 *No its not yours*
1008
1009 *Why* ngiyibheka?
1010 *Why am I looking at it?*
1011
1012 Hayi ngiyobheka imodo eyami (SZ: imoto)
1013 *No I am going to see my car*
1014
1015 Ngicela ungiboleke
1016 *Please lend (it to) me*
1017
1018 Bye bye Vusi
1019
1020 Uzungishaye **ntwana**
1021 *Just hit me man*
1022
1023 Nize ningishaye, iyaphuka lephone
1024 *Just hit me guys, that phone breaks*
1025
1026 Mele ningayikhiphi izomosheka , yilento yokukhuluma
1027 *You mustn't take it out it, it will break, it is that thing to speak in*
1028
1029 Eyakho
1030 *It is yours*
1031
1032 Ayeza amaphoisa eM'roka
1033 *The police are coming from Moroka*
1034
1035 He leaved?
1036 *He left?*
1037
1038 Uy' epark
1039 *He went to the park*
1040
1041 A' you going at the park ?
1042
1043 Uyakuphi, kaboDum'sile?
1044 *Where are you going to, Dumisile's place?*
1045

Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: English Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

1046 Haa '-yaz' ikuphi?
1047 *Ha you know were it is?*
1048
1049 Kumnandi *epark*, bheka bablomile naboDums'ilse
1050 *It's nice at the park, look they are chilling with Dumsile and his friends*
1051
1052 Eee nalesikhathi bengithi ngizakanga, bengiya *epark*
1053 *Hey at this time I was saying I would be silly , I was going to a park*
1054
1055 Asiyihambe *so, ipark*, asiphume *so* bese siyabuya, asithi ikude
1056 *Lets go like this, the park, lets get out like this then we are coming back, lets say its far*
1057
1058 Ayi *why?*
1059 *No why?*
1060
1061 Nges'khathi sihamba ngebaisikili bekunganalento
1062 *At the time we went riding a bicycle there was nothing*
1063
1064 Yini, iphaka. Haa lento!
1065 *What's that, the park? Haa this thing!*
1066
1067 Bengithi ngizokuboleka
1068 *I wanted to lend (it to) you*
1069
1070 Yini lento?
1071 *What is this thing?*
1072
1073 Yini lento le ela?
1074 *What is this thing, this one there?*
1075
1076 Aha le, bheka, bheka
1077 *Ha this , look, look*
1078
1079 Yini? Yini? bekuyitay'ra lami, bengihlali lana
1080 *What is it? What is it? It was my wheel, I was sitting there*
1081
1082 Uzwikhiphe lento
1083 *You should remove that thing*
1084
1085 Yitay'ra lami
1086 *It is my wheel*
1087
1088 Bheka bheka KS, kade ngayivula, ngiyayipotjoza
1089 *Look KS, this long thing I will open i,t I will fix it*
1090
1091 Unamanga dala ayivulile
1092 *You are lying, you opened it long ago*
1093
1094 Haa ngikubonile, dala uyivulile
1095 *I watched you, long ago you opened it*

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

1096
1097 Woza, woza
1098 *Come, come*
1099
1100 Ephakini bathi ngingasayi
1101 *To the park they said I mustn't go*
1102
1103 Kuphi?
1104 *Where?*
1105
1106 Izangapha
1107 *come this side*
1108
1109 Sizophuma so
1110 *We will go out this way*
1111
1112 Ibeke la
1113 *Put it here*
1114
1115 eish, khiph' iiqhathulo
1116 *Haa, remove your shoes*
1117
1118 **Vaya**
1119 *Go*
1120
1121 Edrobeni asikhoni ukundlula ngale, khon' amatrafic cop (SZ: edobholeni)
1122 *at town we are not able use the other way, there were trafic cops*
1123
1124 Ithi ngikhiphe
1125 *Let me take (it) out*
1126
1127 Yenzani lento?
1128 *What does it do this thing?*
1129
1130 Iyakhuluma, mele ngiyifake
1131 *Its talking, I have to put it on*
1132
1133 *Why, enza kanje?*
1134 *Why, it goes this way?*
1135
1136 Joh **ntwana**, lephone le iwile, ngathi cishe yaphuka **ntwana**
1137 *Yoh my friend, this phone there fell down, it was supposed to break my friend*
1138
1139 Ye yam' noPhielo
1140 *It is mine and Pierre's*
1141
1142 Lephone lecishe yaphuka
1143 *This phone wanted to break*
1144
1145 Joh ngimwisile lomtwana kodwa sizowa

Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: English Mix: Intersentential Switch Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Language: Zulu Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Location: Street Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder

1146 *Yoh I dropped that child, but we will fall*
1147
1148 Kozowa ophambili, nalosemuva
1149 *On it will fall the one at front, and the one at the back*
1150
1151 Inde ushilo, wo wo
1152 *It is long you said, wow*
1153
1154 Kanti ihamba so
1155 *It can move like this*
1156
1157 Mele ngiyifake so, kanjani? (SZ: -melwe)
1158 *I have to put it like this, how?*
1159
1160 Joh ushiwa yintombazana
1161 *Yoh she's running faster than you the girl*
1162
1163 Indaba, yazi why ashiwa yi ntombazani?
1164 *The thing is, you know why the girl runs faster?*
1165
1166 Indaba, umdala, yena mcani
1167 *The thing is, she is old, he is little*
1168
1169 Makasakhula uJunior uzobe arana
1170 *When he gets older Junior will be very fast*
1171
1172 Adle mix
1173 *He eats mix*
1174
1175 Bambezela sesiyahamba
1176 *Hold on we hit the road*
1177
1178 Lingaphantshi (from Eng. 'puncture')
1179 *It must not get a flat wheel*
1180
1181 Sesiyafika edrobeni
1182 *We are approaching town now*
1183
1184 Uzabuya ung'lande?
1185 *Are you going to come back to fetch me?*
1186
1187 Uzobuya ungilanda? (no subjunctive agreement)
1188 *You will come back to fetch me*
1189
1190 Ngizoza ne?
1191 *I will come, ok?*
1192
1193 Xava udray'va
1194 *Look at the driver*
1195

Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 Topic: Recorder
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Mix: Insert Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Taxi

1196 Besizoma *hi*
1197 *We were going to stop here*
1198
1199 Jika
1200 *Go back*
1201
1202 Iphelile *ipetrol*
1203 *The petrol is finished*
1204
1205 Ima laphaya ukhombekanje
1206 *Wait there and point up with your hand like this*
1207
1208 Hamba laphaya
1209 *Go there*
1210
1211 Gud'za wa e bea *kude*
1212 *Gud'za you put it far!*
1213
1214 Hai ngizophuma *so*
1215 *I will go out this way*
1216
1217 Ngizophuma *so* ngaseCrossroad
1218 *I will go out this way via Crossroads*
1219
1220 Ngabe dala ukhombile
1221 *You were supposed to point your finger long ago*
1222
1223 Ma bakuthuma edrobeni
1224 *When they send you to town*
1225
1226 Uyayibona, *itaxi* ihamba, *after* wenukhomba maseyila
1227 *You see it, the taxi just left, after you signed to stop it*
1228
1229 Wena angeke *ukhone* ukukhomb' *itaxi*
1230 *You wont be able to point for the taxi*
1231
1232 Ufuna ukukhomba iteksi mayihamba kuphi?
1233 *You want to point for the taxi if it goes where?*
1234
1235 Seyihamba la, wena wuwe lona
1236 *We are going this way, you you were there*
1237
1238 Uyazi ukuthi ubamba kuphi?
1239 *Do you know where you are holding?*
1240
1241 Uyabona ukuthi *istradi* lesi sihamba kanjani
1242 *Can you see how this street there is (goes)?*
1243
1244 Masesiphuma edrobeni
1245 *When we leave from town*

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Age 7-9 Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Taxi
Mix: Insert Zulu Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

1246
1247 *Bastop , bastop le!*
1248 *Bus stop, bus stop this one!*
1249
1250 *If ufuna ukuyehla ebustop, short left!*
1251 *If you want to stop at the bus stop, short left!*
1252
1253 Ephakini? Ngazile, akunamuntu ephakini
1254 *At the park? I saw, there is nobody at the park*
1255
1256 Bheka, bheka!
1257 *Look*
1258
1259 Bheka *if* ufuna ukuya edrobeni ukhomba kanje, Bara Mall
1260 *Look if you want to go to town you point like this, to Bara Mall*
1261
1262 Kanje kanje?
1263 *Like this like that?*
1264
1265 Nobabawami uthe!
1266 *My father said it!*
1267
1268 Mina angisho ngizoya eChina City, iChina City ithi
1269 *I didn't say that I'll be going to China City, it means Chine City*
1270
1271 Ngabe ukhulumile
1272 *You could have said it*
1273
1274 Eish mina ngisadla, ngisabeke nyana
1275 *Ha me I'm still eating, so I am still looking (only) a little*
1276
1277 Ngiyikhombe isaselapha
1278 *I stopped it while it was still there*
1279
1280 Woo jahh, woo ima kucala ya, gibela kulezinto lapho
1281 *Wow yeah, wow stand on the edge yeah, climb on top of those thing down there*
1282
1283 Eish konje , Khaya
1284 *By the way, Khaya*
1285
1286 Dida ufun' ukuhlala la?
1287 *Dida you want to stop (lit.: stay) here?*
1288
1289 Masila iChine City ila eduze
1290 *When we are here china city is here close by*
1291
1292 Khuluma
1293 *Speak*
1294
1295 Ikhuluma makakubiza umamakho

Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing

1296 *Its speaks when your mother calls you*
1297
1298 Noma asendlini ngiyakhuluma
1299 *Even when shes in the house I am talking*
1300
1301 Eish, iinyawo
1302 *Haaa (your) feet*
1303
1304 China City!
1305
1306 Ah kuseduzani *man* , haa kulelagate elincani
1307 *Ha it is just close by man, by that small gate*
1308
1309 YiChina City Mall le *man*, China Mall
1310 *Is this China City Mall this, man, China Mall?*
1311
1312 yiyo into ezongenza ngihambele phambili lena, *ne?*
1313 *It is the thing that will make me go forward this, is it?*
1314
1315 Kukhal' iradio **ekareni** yakho
1316 *The radio is playing in your car*
1317
1318 Hayi lapho
1319 *It is not there*
1320
1321 No no!
1322
1323 **Ugran**? Yiphone kabani leyo oyiphethe
1324 *You're alright? Whose phone is it that has stopped?*
1325
1326 Ekabani?
1327 *Whose is it?*
1328
1329 Uy' edrobeni?
1330 *Are you going to town?*
1331
1332 Ekabani?
1333 *Whose is it?*
1334
1335 Eyami noPhielo nobuthi wami athi ngayikhiphi
1336 *Its mine and Pierre's and my brother said I musn't take it out*
1337
1338 Why?
1339
1340 Angeke ize ikhone ukukhuluma
1341 *It wont be able to talk*
1342
1343 Ukhumuma nawe kanjani ubuthi wakho?
1344 *How did your brother speak to you?*
1345

Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Undertermined Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Technology
Language: Zulu Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Location: Street To: Child same age
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

1346 Ufuna ibengapha?
1347 *You want it to be this side?*
1348
1349 Hello, yo!
1350
1351 He wena, **amajent** azohlala lapho?
1352 *Hey you, are the guys going to sit down there?*
1353
1354 Umagogo?
1355 *And the grand mother?*
1356
1357 Ak'suMadzedze
1358 *Is it not MaDzedze?*
1359 *(amadzedze 'insects' used as a nickname)*
1360
1361 Uyazi, umagogo wakugibela ukugay' *ilucky*, ukhipha amabhadi
1362 *You know, the grand mother she climbs in she crushes luck, she gives bad luck*
1363
1364 Ngifuna ukuthi angigibele, ukhipha amabhadi umagogo makakugibela. Ngifuna ukuthi angigibele, ya
senginamalucky manje
1365 *I want her not to climb in, she gives bad luck the old lady if she climbs in.*
1366 *I want her not to climb in, yeah now I have luck*
1367
1368 Sengimthathile, mawuya kuloya magogo
1369 *I will take her, if you go to this old lady*
1370
1371 Ye wena ugande uMadzedze
1372 *Hey you, you stepped on Madzedze ('s foot)*
1373
1374 Yindlu yaMadzedze awuboni?
1375 *Madzeze's house, don't you see?*
1376
1377 Ngayivalela
1378 *I'm shutting it*
1379
1380 Ngizoy' etaxini
1381 *I'll go into the taxi*
1382
1383 Ngebay'sikili
1384 *On a bicycle*
1385
1386 Ngizabuya *ne?* Ngisayedrobeni, ngiyazihambela, umelana uzongithola
1387 *I'll come back, alright? I'm still on the way to town, I'll go with them, you wait for him you will find me*
1388
1389 Ngizokhuluma ukuthi nguphi *ne?*
1390 *I will tell you where I am, ok?*
1391
1392 Nami ngiyagibela, yo
1393 *Me too im climbing in, wow*
1394

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Speaking alone
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None Topic: Recorder
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Supervision: None
Location: Street To: Child same age
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu To: Child same age
Location: Street To: Male
Mix: Insert English
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Male
Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

1395 Angakusinda yena, lomuntu una-ten... wena!
1396 *He can't be so heavy him, this guy he's ten... you!*
1397
1398 Ngina-ten, siyalingana
1399 *I'm ten, we are the same (age)*
1400
1401 He baba, ayiyi ey' edrobeni, ayiyi eMaponya
1402 *He man, it is not going the one that goes to town, it's not going to Maponya*
1403
1404 That's nice, smile!
1405
1406 Taxi!
1407
1408 Ho niyakuphi?
1409 *Where are you going*
1410
1411 Edrobeni
1412 *To town*
1413
1414 Wena?
1415 *What about you?*
1416
1417 Edrobeni
1418 *To town*
1419
1420 Hai angiyi khona
1421 *I'm not going there*
1422
1423 Uyava, Maponya?
1424 *Where are you going to, Maponya Mall?*
1425
1426 Jabulani
1427 *Jabulani Mall*
1428
1429 Ye wena iJabulani yiso
1430 *Hey you, Jabulani is like this*
1431
1432 NgiyeRhivarhli mina
1433 *I'm going to Riverlea me*
1434
1435 Nami ithi ngiye eRhivarhli
1436 *Me too let me go to Riverlea*
1437
1438 YiBara, Bara
1439 *It is Bara, Bara!*
1440
1441 Hai mina ngima lapha
1442 *No me I'm stopping there*
1443
1444 Yo bheka, ugibelise uVusi

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male Topic: Taxi
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing

1445 Look, you must let Vusi climb in with you
1446
1447 Wo yehlika
1448 Get off
1449
1450 Bekuyimi, after uKS bekuyimi
1451 It was me, after KS it was me
1452
1453 Wo, uKgosi
1454 Hey, it is Kgosi
1455
1456 Wena uyakuphi?
1457 You where are you going
1458
1459 Mina ngiya eFlorida Land?
1460 Me im going to Florida Land
1461
1462 Wena?
1463 What about you?
1464
1465 Mina ngiya eFlorida?
1466 I'm going to Florida
1467
1468 Hai khona nikhomba rong, iya edrobeni
1469 No here you (pl.) point it wrong, it is going to town
1470
1471 Haa, edrobeni
1472 Haa, to town
1473
1474 Nikhulumile nikhulumile
1475 You (pl.) said it, you said it
1476
1477 Ha Hloksa mina ngisephakini, ngiy' edrobeni, why um' ephakini
1478 Ha Hloksa me I'm at the park, I'm going to town, why do you stand at the park?
1479
1480 Mina ngim' ephakini, hai lapho **hi**, ima **hi**
1481 I'm standing at the park, not there here, wait there
1482
1483 Uyaphi KS wena?
1484 You KS where are you going?
1485
1486 Ngizoye Riverli
1487 I will go to Riverlea
1488
1489 Mina ngizoy' edrobeni
1490 Me I will go to town
1491
1492 Angeke uzothi uya eFlorida Lake?
1493 Didn't you say you are going to Florida Lake?
1494

Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Male
Supervision: None
To: Child same age
To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

1495 Lomuntu lo awumazi, watshentsha, awumazi
1496 *This guy this one you don't know him, he (always) changes, you don't know him*
1497
1498 Una *ten* nawe una *ten*?
1499 *Are you ten, you too you are ten also?*
1500
1501 Us'dudla, izohamba kaso *itaxi*
1502 *He's fat, it will go like this the taxi*
1503
1504 Ahh, ubambile,ubambile!
1505 *Haa you got him, you got him!*
1506
1507 Sanibonani **thaima**
1508 *Hello father*
1509
1510 Drobeni *four*, ufuna ngikutshele *why*?
1511 *Four to town, you want to tell me why?*
1512
1513 Ya sengibonile
1514 *Yes I just saw*
1515
1516 Bengifuna ukuya edrobeni. Sengikhomb' uKS, ngicabanga naye uya *edrobeni* yese
1517 *I wanted to go to town. KS was pointing at me, I think he is going to town as well*
1518
1519 Bheka uzogibela. Ma wuy' edrobeni ukhomba kanje
1520 *Look you will climb in. When you go to town point like this*
1521
1522 Ubumba uzobamba lana ke
1523 *The big man will hold here then*
1524
1525 Uzobamba la
1526 *You will hold here*
1527
1528 Ya lapho
1529 *Yeah there*
1530
1531 Ya sona ke
1532 *Yeah like that*
1533
1534 Mina angazi uzogibela kanjani
1535 *I don't know how you take it (the taxi)*
1536
1537 Ubambe lana ke
1538 *Just hold here*
1539
1540 Kgantsho uyakhona ukushova?
1541 *Kgantso are you able to ride the bike?*
1542
1543 Ya ngiyakhona
1544 *Yes I can*

Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age
Location: Street	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Mix: Insert English	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Mix: Transfer	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age
Location: Street	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Mix: Insert English	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Mix: Transfer	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age
Location: Street	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Sotho	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Sotho	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi

1545
1546 Iindunu ezingajampi
1547 Your arses that can't jump
1548
1549 Yo indunu iyajampa ntwana
1550 Yo my arse is jumping my friend
1551
1552 Haaa wena uwenza kabi mele uwenze so
1553 Ha what you're doing is wrong, you must do (like) this
1554
1555 Indunu mawujampa ungatinti la
1556 When you ass jump don't touch here
1557
1558 Mawuthinta uluzile
1559 When you touch you've lost
1560
1561 Ok rite
1562 Alright
1563
1564 Gibela kuleya
1565 Climb in that one
1566
1567 On my horse?
1568
1569 2012 baba, le 2012
1570 2012 man, this is 2012
1571
1572 Wo uwenza so Kgantso
1573 Ho you do this way Kgantso
1574
1575 Wena wenza so mina ngenza so
1576 You do this way, I do that way
1577
1578 Hayi wena uwenza kabi ungeze so
1579 No you're doing wrong, don't do this
1580
1581 Lana kusePhakini
1582 Here it's to Park (Station)
1583
1584 Ubani osho kanjalo
1585 Who is it that says this?
1586
1587 Park!
1588
1589 Ubani owenze kube yiPark
1590 Who is it who made it to be Park?
1591
1592 Yithi
1593 Its us
1594

Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age CI9/cI10
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: English Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Undertermined Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

1595 Yini eni balile la?
1596 *What is it that you have counted here?*
1597
1598 Gibelani
1599 *Hop on (pl.)*
1600
1601 Ayi mari wena uzogibela kanjani
1602 *No but you how are going to get in*
1603
1604 Ha Kgotso us'dudla
1605 *Ha Kgotso you are fat*
1606
1607 Ha manje angikubuzanga
1608 *Ha now I did not ask you*
1609
1610 Awugibele kuqala
1611 *You musn't get in first*
1612
1613 Ngiyakubona, angeke usagibela
1614 *I can see you, you can't get in anymore*
1615
1616 Khonamanje bengiphume *straight*, khonamanje ngizoyitshentshe njela
1617 *Right now I could have gone out straight, and now I'm gonna just change it*
1618
1619 Khonamanje ngithath' iBara
1620 *Right now I'm taking the Bara one*
1621
1622 Ngizothi ilele uyazi
1623 *I will say it must sleep, you know*
1624
1625 Uthini?
1626 *What are you saying ?*
1627
1628 Eh, wozani lana
1629 *Come there (pl.)*
1630
1631 Uthi uya ePark Station ne?
1632 *You said you are going to Park Station, right?*
1633
1634 Imani la, nihlaleni phansi
1635 *Wait (pl.) here and sit (pl.) down*
1636
1637 Uthi uya ePark Station ha ne?
1638 *You say you are going to Park Station right?*
1639
1640 Eya ePark Station seyizotshentsha
1641 *The one that's going to Park Station will have to change*
1642
1643 Uthule ungabatsheli
1644 *Keep quite don't tell them*

Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Afrikaans	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	

1645
1646 Park Station!
1647
1648 Bheka bazokhomba Bara bonke , la edrobeni bonke
1649 *Look they all want to go to Bara , they are all going there to town*
1650
1651 Yehlika
1652 *Get off*
1653
1654 *Park Station* mhlambe iya so or so ?
1655 *Parkstation* going this way or that way
1656
1657 Lobaba loya nakuya
1658 *This man this one there he is*
1659
1660 Awumbonanga lobaba lowundlul' ephakini
1661 *You did not see this man when he took the way to Park (Station)*
1662
1663 Mhlambe
1664 *Maybe*
1665
1666 Park Station, Park Station, Park Station!
1667
1668 Bara, me I'm going to Bara
1669
1670 Hluphi I'm going to Bara
1671
1672 Ubonile uthi ukubekile, *end'* akazwanga ukude ubonile
1673 *Did you see he watched you, and he didn't feel that he watched you for long*
1674
1675 Mele uyibambe *so*
1676 *You have to hold it like this*
1677
1678 Hluphi Johannesburg!
1679
1680 Bekubekile
1681 *He was watching*
1682
1683 Ngithe Joness'burg
1684 *I said Johanessburg*
1685
1686 Johaness', hayi Jonesburg
1687 *Johaness', not Jonesburg*
1688
1689 Uzobona
1690 *You will see*
1691
1692 Yazi, uyabona, laba abayitwo. Mele ubize oyi-one
1693 *You know, you see, there they're two. You must call only one*
1694

Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Undertermined Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Undertermined Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male Topic: Taxi
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

1695 Ya, ngesilungu
1696 *In English (lit.: in the white men's language)*
1697
1698 Nanku uyeza
1699 *Here it is, he is coming*
1700
1701 Wuwe ufesi
1702 *It will be you first*
1703
1704 Ngizathi *come back* Hluphi, I'm calling
1705 *I will say come back Hluphi, I'm calling*
1706
1707 Ume lana ume laphaya kustopsign ane, uzomgibelisa
1708 *He is waiting there, he is waiting down there by the stop sign ok?, you will let him hop in*
1709
1710 Park Station, Bara leyi, Bara itaxi no?
1711 *Park Station, this one Bara, to Bara the taxi, no?*
1712
1713 EBara, Bara, Bara! Ayibo, yini manje?
1714 *To Bara, Bara, Bara! Well, what is it now?*
1715
1716 Hluphi I heard that, Hluphi come back
1717
1718 Ubhekile
1719 *He looked*
1720
1721 Ha mgijimise wena
1722 *Yes run after him, you*
1723
1724 Ithi malume *why* usuza? *Why* usuza?
1725 *Hey uncle why do you fart? Why do you fart?*
1726
1727 Hayi baba
1728 *No man*
1729
1730 Udakiwe
1731 *He is drunk*
1732
1733 Lobaba lo ngithe 'malume', sis, wathi ehh
1734 *This old man I said 'uncle', jeez', he said eeh*
1735
1736 Malume sis ehh
1737 *Uncle Jeez' eeh*
1738
1739 Ubani osho omvakwami la
1740 *Who is it that said it's him after me?*
1741
1742 Ubani?
1743 *Who is that?*
1744

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: English Mix: Intrasentential Switch Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male Topic: Role playing
Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

1745 Hluphi ugibelise mina kucala
1746 *Hluphi you should give me a ride first*
1747
1748 Haa Hluphi ugibelise mina kucala, ngiyakucela Hluphi
1749 *Haa Hluphi give me a ride first, please Hluphi*
1750
1751 Ukuphi uSipho?
1752 *Where is Sipho*
1753
1754 Yini azange angilande lomuntu lo
1755 *He did not pick me up this person there*
1756
1757 Nathi akasilandi
1758 *Even us he doesn't to pick us up*
1759
1760 Xa sis iyab**ora** lentwana (c9 used instead of c1, derogative)
1761 *Ha jeez' he is boring this boy is guy*
1762
1763 **Xava** seyikuphi, izoza **yi**
1764 *Look where he is, he will come here*
1765
1766 Ngizothi Bara
1767 *I will say Bara*
1768
1769 Uyav**aya** Bara vele?
1770 *You are going to Bara, is it?*
1771
1772 Ya ePhakstation nayo
1773 *Yeah and then Park Station*
1774
1775 Ok iyedrobeni
1776 *Ok its going to town*
1777
1778 Maponya
1779
1780 yewena iMapony' yiso, yiso
1781 *Hey you, maponya it's like this, it's like this*
1782
1783 Maponya, Maponya!
1784
1785 Maponya Maponya!
1786
1787 Bara!
1788
1789 Maponya, Maponya, Maponya, Maponya, Maponya!
1790
1791 Bathe Bara
1792 *They said Bara*
1793
1794 Maponya **sokol**

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Taxi

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Undertermined Register: Undertermined Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male Topic: Taxi

Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None Topic: Taxi

Language: Undertermined Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male Topic: Taxi

Language: Undertermined Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male Topic: Taxi

Language: Undertermined Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male Topic: Taxi

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Undertermined Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

1795 *Maponya idiot!*
1796
1797 Kula edrobeni
1798 *It's here to town*
1799
1800 Bara nayi
1801 *Bara this one*
1802
1803 Maponya, iyez' itaxi
1804 *Maponya, the taxi is coming*
1805
1806 *Atlist* kunini umile laphaya
1807 *At last it has been long waiting here*
1808
1809 IBara ikuphi konje?
1810 *Where is the Bara one anyway?*
1811
1812 Wo la kunewheelchair
1813 *Wow there where there is a wheel chair*
1814
1815 Kodwa inkulu iBara
1816 *But the Bara one is very big*
1817
1818 ungasagibelisi u-Jeremiah uyaroba
1819 *You shouldn't ride with Jeremiah is boring*
1820
1821 *Sharp taxi sharp*
1822
1823 He I'm the next one
1824
1825 Lomuntu lona akayi
1826 *This person doesn't go*
1827
1828 *Drobeni* or Eastern Park?
1829 *Town or Earsten park*
1830
1831 *Eastern park*, iya e*Eastern park*
1832 *Eastern Park*, it goes to *Eastern Park*
1833
1834 *Elibarty city*, yazi ukuthi kukude kanjani
1835 *Liberty City*, you know how very far it is,
1836
1837 Undlula eJohannesburg, Pretoria, Limpompo, Durban, Cape Town
1838 *You pass Johannesburg, Pretoria, Limpopo, Durban, Cape Town*
1839
1840 NgaseCape Town
1841 *Around Cape Town*
1842
1843 Eastern Park!
1844

Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Sotho Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Undertermined Mix: Insert English Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male To
Location: Street Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male Topic: Taxi
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Undertermined Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male Topic: Taxi

1845 Bree!!
1846 *Bree (Station)*
1847
1848 Wen' uyaroba
1849 *You are annoying*
1850
1851 Kunini wena ugibela?
1852 *How long have you been riding?*
1853
1854 La angisafuni *man voetsek*
1855 *There I don't want any more, piss off man*
1856
1857 Ngaphandle kwami
1858 *Without (lit.: outside of) me*
1859
1860 Uyahlanya angithi, bakutshela ukuthi awufuni abantu abakhulumayo la
1861 *Tou are crazy anyway, they told you that they don't want people that are talking here*
1862
1863 Mina ngibafakile ngoba besidlala laphaya ntwana
1864 *Me I put them because we were playing there*
1865
1866 Voetsek wena ngiyakukhipha wena uyangena , ngizokushaya ngempama
1867 *Piss off you I'm taking you out, you still come in, I will slap you (hit you with the palm)*
1868
1869 Jeso lo uKS upheth' *iphone*
1870 *Jeso this one KS took a phone*
1871
1872 Bathe ngingayikhiphi es'kwameni
1873 *They told me not to take it out from the pocket*
1874
1875 Yini? *Yiphone?*
1876 *What is it? Is it a phone?*
1877
1878 Bathe ngayikhiphi
1879 *They said not to take it out*
1880
1881 Ngiyabheka ukuthi injani, angeke ngiyithathe, yini?
1882 *I am looking at (trying to see) what it is, I wont take it, what is it?*
1883
1884 Bathe ngayikhiphi
1885 *They told me not to take it out*
1886
1887 Yima ak's' *iphone* le, yima ngizokunika
1888 *This is not a phone, wait I will give it back*
1889
1890 Kukhalani la
1891 *What (sound) is playing here?*
1892
1893 Luyanda unganiwakho uyakufuna, umgani wakho lo
1894 *Luyanda your friend wants you, your friend this one*

Language: Undertermined	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Sotho	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Afrikaans	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Afrikaans	Supervision: None	Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	

1895
1896 Umtsheleleni?
1897 *What did you tell him*
1898
1899 Bathe ngayikhiphi
1900 *They said not to take it out*
1901
1902 Ngibonile kuthi uzayikhipha
1903 *I saw that you will take it out*
1904
1905 Hayi baba *itay'ger*
1906 *No man a tiger (ten rands)*
1907
1908 *Itaxi iyaphi?*
1909 *Where is the taxi going to*
1910
1911 Amatenesi **gaze**
1912 *The tennis (shoes) my friend*
1913
1914 Mawuganga mfana uzoshesh' ufe (ukuganga: from Eng. gang)
1915 *When you commit crime you will die quickly*
1916
1917 Amatenesi **gaze**
1918 *Tennis my friend*
1919
1920 Isithubu sidlaliwa kaso bese uthi, ubonile?
1921 *A drum is played (one plays the drum) this way, then you say, did you see?*
1922
1923 Bhek' isgubhu sidlalwa kaso uyabo', bese uthi uqedile **is'kgothi**
1924 *Look, the drum is played thi way you see, then you finished UNKNOWN*
1925 (isikgothi: origin and meaning unknown)
1926
1927 Uyabo' sukani lapho, sukani
1928 *You see move away from there, move away*
1929
1930 Sukani, sukani sukani ke
1931 *Get off*
1932
1933inja igijimisa uJeso
1934 *The dog is chasing Jeso*
1935
1936 Ikuphi?
1937 *Where is it?*
1938
1939 Ijike kanje
1940 *It turned this way*
1941
1942 Ufuna ukuthi ashone uJeso angithi
1943 *You want Jeso dead, right*
1944

Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Money
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age Topic: Taxi
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Taxi
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Mix: Transfer To: Child same age
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Supervision: None
Location: Street To: Child same age
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

1945 UJeso uzoba uSlice
1946 *Jeso will become Slice*
1947
1948 Imodo yakho *why* ungayiphaki la?
1949 *Your car why can't you parkit here*
1950
1951 'phakini uziphakele kamnandi, uthi jovijtjo
1952 *At Park (station) you just park nicely, you say jovitjo (ideo. For the sound of a whistle)*
1953
1954 Sukani sukani
1955 *Go away*
1956
1957 Hey nizijumpe zonke
1958 *You have jumped all of them*
1959
1960 *S'jampe eyi-one*
1961 *We jumped only one*
1962
1963 Sukani
1964 *Move here*
1965
1966 Asambeni sobona nawumhlolo (no subjunctive agreement 'sobone')
1967 *Let us go and see miracles*
1968
1969 Ayeyeinja
1970 *Watch out for the dog*
1971
1972 Nayiinja izakulumainja ne?
1973 *The dog will bite you, watch out, alright?*
1974
1975 Wo, wo, wo!
1976
1977 Stop! Stop! Stop!
1978
1979 Wo 'cish' iphuma iphone yami
1980 *Wow my phone wanted to go out*
1981
1982 Yamampela, ha uKS unephone
1983 *It's true, ha KS has a phone*
1984
1985 Suka, ayeye
1986 *Go away*
1987
1988 KS phuma
1989 *Go out KS*
1990
1991 Mina ngiyabaleka
1992 *I am running away*
1993
1994 Phuma

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Undertermined Register: Undetermined Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male

1995 *Go out*
1996
1997 Ya nam' ngicela ukwenza
1998 *And me may I do that?*
1999
2000 Njabulo nang' ugogo wakho
2001 *Njabulo there is your grand mother*
2002
2003 Ha yini **uxhazekile**? phuma phuma
2004 *What are you happy about? Go out*
2005
2006 Why ngiphuma?
2007 *Why do I go out?*
2008
2009 Phuma, abanye bahlephule iskipping sakho
2010 *Get out others just cut your skipping robe*
2011
2012 KS ngithe phuma kudlale mina wanga phuma ayeye wuwe
2013 *Get out KS it's my turn to play*
2014
2015 Ngicela ulethe
2016 *Please bring (that)*
2017
2018 He ekuphi?
2019 *Where is it*
2020
2021 Suka suka
2022 *Move away, move away*
2023
2024 Ikhati ngilibonile, ikhati lime laphayana
2025 *I just saw a cat, a cat was there*
2026
2027 Ya bengithi ngiyayifaka wena wayicedelela
2028 *I wanted to put it but you finished it*
2029
2030 Ithi ngibo' ithi ngiyifake
2031 *Let me see and let me put it*
2032
2033 Yiniyini? Ak'si-charger yakini ne
2034 *What's wrong? It is not you charger*
2035
2036 Hey mina ngiyayilungisa nina niyacedelela
2037 *I am fixing it you (pl) are going to finish (it)*
2038
2039 Hayi mina angiyisabe
2040 *No i'm not afraid of it*
2041
2042 Yenina uThemba sakaphumile, anibonanga
2043 *He you guys, Themba just went out, you did not see*
2044

- Location: Street ● Supervision: None
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral ● To: Child same age
- Speaker: Age 7-9 ● To: Male
- Language: Zulu ● Speaker: Male
- Location: Street ● Supervision: None
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral ● To: Child same age
- Speaker: Age 7-9 ● To: Male
- Language: Zulu ● Speaker: Male
- Location: Street ● Supervision: None
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral ● To: Child same age
- Speaker: Age 7-9 ● To: Male
- Language: Zulu ● Speaker: Age 7-9 ● To: Male
- Location: Street ● Speaker: Male
- Mix: Insert Iscamtho ● Supervision: None
- Register: Iscamtho ● To: Child same age
- Language: Zulu ● Register: Local Variety - Neutral ● To: Child same age
- Location: Street ● Speaker: Age 7-9 ● To: Male
- Mix: Insert English ● Speaker: Male
- Mix: Transfer ● Supervision: None
- Language: Zulu ● Speaker: Age 7-9 ● To: Male
- Location: Street ● Speaker: Male
- Mix: Insert English ● Supervision: None
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral ● To: Child same age
- Language: Zulu ● Speaker: Male
- Location: Street ● Supervision: None
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral ● To: Child same age
- Speaker: Age 7-9 ● To: Male
- Language: Zulu ● Speaker: Male
- Location: Street ● Supervision: None
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral ● To: Child same age
- Speaker: Age 7-9 ● To: Male
- Language: Zulu ● Speaker: Male
- Location: Street ● Supervision: None
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral ● To: Child same age
- Speaker: Age 7-9 ● To: Male
- Language: Zulu ● Speaker: Male
- Location: Street ● Supervision: None
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral ● To: Child same age
- Speaker: Age 7-9 ● To: Male
- Language: Zulu ● Speaker: Male ● Topic: Recorder
- Location: Street ● Supervision: None
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral ● To: Child same age
- Speaker: Age 7-9 ● To: Male
- Language: Zulu ● Speaker: Male ● Topic: Recorder
- Location: Street ● Supervision: None
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral ● To: Child same age
- Speaker: Age 7-9 ● To: Male
- Language: Zulu ● Speaker: Age 7-9 ● To: Male
- Location: Street ● Speaker: Male ● Topic: Recorder
- Mix: Insert English ● Supervision: None
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral ● To: Child same age
- Language: Zulu ● Speaker: Male ● Topic: Recorder
- Location: Street ● Supervision: None
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral ● To: Child same age
- Speaker: Age 7-9 ● To: Male
- Language: Zulu ● Speaker: Male ● Topic: Recorder
- Location: Street ● Supervision: None
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral ● To: Child same age
- Speaker: Age 7-9 ● To: Male

2045 Ngibonile
2046 *I saw*
2047
2048 Sakaphumile uThemba. Nifunani, 'cel' ukubona?
2049 *Themba went out. What do you (pl.) want, can I please see?*
2050
2051 Ngicel' ukubona ak's'ukuthi ngiyayitshontsha ngicela ukubona
2052 *Can I please see, not that i'm stealing it, I am asking to please see*
2053
2054 Heena ungapresi
2055 *No don't press*
2056
2057 'cel' ukubona lena 'cel' ukubona, eyakhuluma
2058 *Can I please see this, can I please see, it is talking*
2059
2060 Yana, uPhielo uyeza
2061 *There it is, Pierre is coming*
2062
2063 Ngicela ukubona ngifuna ukubheka nje
2064 *Can I please see, I only want to watch*
2065
2066 UPhielo uyeza
2067 *Pierre is coming*
2068
2069 Yini, uzokhuluma nawe kuleyonto?
2070 *What, you too you will speak into that thing?*
2071
2072 Ya
2073 *Yeah*
2074
2075 Hai akakakhulumi
2076 *No he's not talking yet*
2077
2078 Seyakhuluma *1minutes*
2079 *We are talking for 1 minute*
2080
2081 Awuyisuse ku1, lento le iyangi**ibora**
2082 *Move this thing to no1, that thing there is boring me*
2083
2084 Vele i-one minutes yisikhathi eside
2085 *One minute is a long time*
2086
2087 Wena KS kunini ngikucela 'kuthi unginike **itay'ger**? Ukuphi uIron Man?
2088 *KS how many time (have) I ask(ed) you to give me a ten rand? Where is Iron man?*
2089
2090 Angimboni
2091 *I don't see him*
2092
2093 Uthe bewuserumini, ubuthi wakho beka khona izolo, yini?
2094 *You said you were inside your room, your brother was here yesterday, what (was it)?*

Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Undertermined	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Register: Iscamtho	To: Child same age
Location: Street	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Mix: Insert English	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho	Supervision: None	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Money
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	

2095
2096 Uthe makaza songena
2097 *You said when he comes you we will get inside*
2098
2099 Tiger,inja kaJeso, yekela. Yini beniyaphi?
2100 *Tiger, Jeso's dog, leave it. Where were you going?*
2101
2102 Ha myekele yigwala loyasan
2103 *No leave him, it's is a coward this boy*
2104
2105 Ha yigwala, mina angiyisabe lenja le, mase i-one ayilumani
2106 *Ha it's a coward, me I am not afraid of that dog there, when it is alone it doesn't bite*
2107
2108 Maseziyi-two eyikhalabo bova
2109 *When their two, it is trouble*
2110
2111 Siya
2112 We go!
2113
2114 Ubalekelani
2115 *What are you running away from?*
2116
2117 Angibaleki
2118 *I am no running away*
2119
2120 *Why everyday ngiye kuye?*
2121 *Why must I go there everyday*
2122
2123 Uyabo' kodwa ayikhulumi angithi
2124 *Can you see it doesn't talk*
2125
2126 Ngizokukhahlela, suka endleleni ngoba ngizokukhahlela
2127 *I will kick you, move out of the way because I will kick you*
2128
2129 Wena KS ha oyibayisi icoke
2130 *You KS it is you who sold the coke*
2131
2132 Amusabi uTiger wena?
2133 *Are you not afraid of Tiger, you?*
2134
2135 Mm akamusabi, uyambrasha
2136 *He is not afraid of him, he is brushing him*
2137
2138 Makayi-wani akalumani
2139 *When he is alone he doesn't bite*
2140
2141 Wena wena awumsabi uTiger, uyazazi uthand' inzinja
2142 *You, you, you are not afraid of Tiger, you know you love dogs*
2143
2144 Nale uFanta uyamazi uFanta, uFanta is like uHlano...

Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male one for alone
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: English Mix: Intrasentential Switch Speaker: Male

2145 *And you know Fanta, Fanta is like Hlano...*
2146
2147 uPepsi manje upe *voetsek*, wayishaye yabaleka
2148 *Pepsi now, he must piss off, he hit it (the dog) and he is running away*
2149
2150 Suka lapho
2151 *Move there*
2152
2153 *Why sisuka?*
2154 *Why do we move away?*
2155
2156 *Why?*
2157
2158 Unamanga wena Phumzile
2159 *You are lying Phumzile*
2160
2161 Yini ngawe?
2162 *What is it with you?*
2163
2164 Ungazelaphi ukuthi wuKS? *(Ungi yazela kuphi = where do you know me from)*
2165 *How did you know it's KS*
2166
2167 Ngikwazela la
2168 *I know you from here*
2169
2170 Wena bas'ka hlobola, bona, bona *(SS: baseke ba hlobola)*
2171 *You don't let them take your cloths off, see, see*
2172
2173 Akungakhulugwa akuna khulugwa ne
2174 *Keep silent, there is no silence, ok?*
2175
2176 Wena uyamusaba uTiger?
2177 *You are you afraid of Tiger?*
2178
2179 Angimusabi , a mina angimusabi
2180 *I am not afraid of him, ha me I'm not afraid of him*
2181
2182 *Why uJeso angamthumezela uJapan ukuthi uTiger amudle?*
2183 *Why Jeso can sent Japan so that Tiger can bite (eat) him?*
2184
2185 Uyamazi uJeso, uyakwazi uJeso wena, uye wa dlala nawe
2186 *Do you know Jafta, he knows you, he played with you*
2187
2188 Kangakhi? Ka cane
2189 *How many times? Few*
2190
2191 *Ka twenty*
2192 *Twenty times*
2193
2194 Incane i-*twenty*

Language: Zulu Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Location: Street Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Supervision: None
Location: Street To: Child same age
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Language: Undertermined Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

2195 *Twtnety is very little*
2196
2197 **Wakwazi ukulakga**
2198 *You don't know how to laugh*
2199
2200 Hello Phielo
2201 *Hi Pierre*
2202
2203 Akakakhulumi
2204 *He doesn't talk*
2205
2206 Wena angidlali nawe
2207 *You I am no longer playing with you*
2208
2209 Ubani?
2210 *Who?*
2211
2212 Ungathi uBibi
2213 *It seems like Bibi*
2214
2215 Ngizokuxosha phela
2216 *I will chase you for real*
2217
2218 ukuphi uBibi yeh?
2219 *Where is Bibi?*
2220
2221 Ufuna yena?
2222 *Are you looking for him?*
2223
2224 Yah
2225 *Yeah*
2226
2227 Uhleli lapha ya
2228 *He is down there*
2229
2230 Kuphi?
2231 *Where?*
2232
2233 Maphoyisa!
2234 *Police*
2235
2236 Lapha bayawathengisa amaice la
2237 *Down there they sell ice there*
2238
2239 Imoto yam' beyiso
2240 *My car was like this*
2241
2242 Beyiso, nansi nje eyethu ayinayo lento ela
2243 *It was like this, our car didn't have something like that thing there*
2244

Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Speaking alone
Speaker: Age 7-9 Topic: Recorder
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None

2245 Eyami iyajika, uSifiso lo uyambona lo xeda ukuvela la
2246 *Mine is turning, that is Sifiso this one, do you see him this one, finish opening there*
2247
2248 Sifiso uhlakaniphile kubo, simdlwalisele thina
2249 *Sifiso is so brilliant, (but) we showed him that it's nothing*
2250
2251 Awungiboleke .
2252 *Lend (it) to me*
2253
2254 Hayi angithi kade ungazanga
2255 *No you did not come long ago*
2256
2257 Wo ngakulungisel' isondo
2258 *Wow I fixed the wheel for you*
2259
2260 Isondo yini isondo?
2261 *what is that 'isondo'?*
2262
2263 Isondo hamavili
2264 *'Isondo' is the wheels*
2265
2266 Lenzeni isondo?
2267 *What happened with the wheel*
2268
2269 Bheka mfowehtu linjani
2270 *Look how it is my friend*
2271
2272 Mayifika umnike leya, buka le iyabheda
2273 *When he arrives give him that one, look this one he speaks non-sense*
2274
2275 Hayi boy awungiboleke
2276 *Yes boy lend (it) to me*
2277
2278 Angithi kade ungazanga
2279 *You haven't been here for long*
2280
2281 Iphelile imoto
2282 *The car is finished*
2283
2284 Bezithree
2285 *They were three*
2286
2287 Bezitwo
2288 *There were two*
2289
2290 Kusele?
2291 *To the left?*
2292
2293 Kusele imoto egreen, kwasala nemoto enje ebomvu. Kodwa uyayizwa le iyajika. 'cela ungiboleke eyi-one
2294 *On the left the car that is green, left behind was a car, a red one. But do you hear it, its coming back. Please can you*

[illegible]

lend me one

2295

2296 Wo bhek' isixhathulo (SZ. Isicathulo)

2297 Wow look at your shoes

2298

2299 Mfana uzobe uhlabekile, uzenz' iboza

2300 You will be stabbed, you keep playing the boss

2301

2302 Wena angeke wethol' imoto

2303 You you wont get any car

2304

2305 Manje uphetheni isikhwameni lo

2306 What do you have inside your pocket

2307

2308 Ithi ngibo' yini leyo

2309 Let me see what this is

2310

2311 He ena ungayikhiphi

2312 No don't take it out

2313

2314 Yini lento le?

2315 What is that thing there?

2316

2317 Yini? Yini? Yifoni yakho?

2318 What is it? What is it? It is your phone?

2319

2320 Yinto yokukhuluma

2321 It's something to speak in

2322

2323 khuluma, nginayo iphone yami

2324 Talk, I have got my own phone

2325

2326 Mi ngizokubolek' imoto, awungiboleke leyo mfowethu

2327 Me let me borrow you a car, lend me that my friend

2328

2329 Ngeke bakutshontshe, n'zakuboleka imoto, uyabo' imoto iyajika

2330 no, they wont steal from you, I will lend you the car, you see the car is turning

2331

2332 Mina mfethu ngiyakuboleka

2333 Me my friend I will lend it to you

2334

2335 Bazongitshika (from Eng. 'cheek')

2336 They will shout at me

2337

2338 Ngiyatesta ukuthi iyawadlala yini amagames

2339 I am testing if it plays what games (what games it plays)

2340

2341 Ayidlali

2342 It doesn't play (any)

2343

Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Topic: Recorder
Location: Street
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Male
Supervision: None
To: Child same age
To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

2344 -Thi ngibo', kuthi inamabhathini
2345 *Let me see, it's got buttons*
2346
2347 Iyadlala yini amagame?
2348 *It plays what games?*
2349
2350 Hayi suka wena, awuwazi niks
2351 *No move away you, you don't know anything*
2352
2353 Uyayazi le?
2354 *Do you know this one?*
2355
2356 Ithi ngize
2357 *Let me come*
2358
2359 Ayikhulumi lento, iyakhala la, ikhala kanjani manje?
2360 *This thing doesn't speak, it makes noise here, how does it ring now?*
2361
2362 Ha ena isikhathi
2363 *It doesn't have the time*
2364
2365 Yini, is'khathi siyaphela?
2366 *What, the time is getting finished?*
2367
2368 Ekabani kanti lento?
2369 *Whom does this thing belong to?*
2370
2371 Yeka ubuthi wami nami noPhielo
2372 *It's my brother's, mine, and Pierre's*
2373
2374 Kweyami ngiyabacwalisela kweyami
2375 *With mine, I am showing them with mine*
2376
2377 Neyami beyinjalo
2378 *Mine too was just like that*
2379
2380 Beyinje phansi, lana, lana be yi nje konke la
2381 *It was down, there, there it was like that all over there*
2382
2383 beyiso, beyiso nalento, lento enye enkulu, amafastera akhona awekho so
2384 *It was like this, it was like that thing, that big thing, the windows were there, the weren't not there like this*
2385
2386 Yimoto yam'
2387 *It is my car*
2388
2389 Imoto yakho inje
2390 *Your car is like this*
2391
2392 Futhi iyafana njengeyami
2393 *It look jusk like mine*

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Location: Street Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

2394
2395 Buka le mfana, **instwembu**, ngiyadlala **intswembu**
2396 *Just look at this boy, it is nice, I'm joking it's nice*
2397
2398 Buka le buka la, buka la akufani buka lokhu okala
2399 *Look at this one , look here, look that, it is again not the same*
2400
2401 Ngathi yi *oksost'* lena
2402 *It is like an exhaust pipe*
2403
2404 Yiphi lena?
2405 *Where is this?*
2406
2407 Kodwa lena bayayidlula, bazoyidlula, buka, bangizothi mina '*godamak get set go*'
2408 *But this one they pass it, they will pass it, look, I will tell them me 'on your marks, get set go'*
2409
2410 Wuwe owenzisayo
2411 *Its you who always does that*
2412
2413 Wo asenze 5,4,3,2,1,0
2414 *Wow let us do 5,4,3,2,1,0*
2415
2416 hayi *gonomaks get set redi fire go*
2417 *No go on your maks, get set, ready, fire go*
2418
2419 Yes ziwele enzansi imoto
2420 *Yes the car has fallen down*
2421
2422 Ngicel' ukubona ngale, as'*drive nga le*
2423 *Can I see that other side, let us drive this one*
2424
2425 Imoto yami izomosh**eka** leth**a**
2426 *My car will be damaged bring it*
2427
2428 '-Thi ngiyilungise
2429 *Let me fix it*
2430
2431 Kuyafana i-*oksozo* ayispidi
2432 *Still the same the exhaust is not working (doesn't spit)*
2433
2434 Nayi *eksozo* iyaspid**a**
2435 *The exhaust is working*
2436
2437 Lena i**oksozo**, i**oksozo** iyahamba
2438 *This exhaust is going (working fine)*
2439
2440 Yingaki isikhathi manje
2441 *What time is it now*
2442
2443 *Oksozo* ngivele ngathi ngathi seku ani

Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Intrasentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: English Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

2444 Exhaust, I just hit the road
2445
2446 5,4,3,2,1,0 ngavele ngathi
2447 5,4,3,2,1,0 then I drove
2448
2449 Yiikhathi lezi
2450 Its a watch these ones
2451
2452 Ungaphiki lezimoto ziyakwazi ukuxhuma
2453 Don't say no these cars can jump
2454
2455 Ziyakwazi lezimoto ukuxhuma zingena ngisho nasemanzini
2456 This car can jump so that they can go in the river, I say
2457
2458 Zihlala zihluthi
2459 They are still satiated
2460
2461 '-Yafuna ukuhamba nathi siyoshishiliza, siyexe umgwaqo (siyeqe umgwaqo)
2462 You want to go with us (we will go) to a slippery road, and we will cross the road
2463
2464 Loyamlungu uyaxoshana loyamlungu (xoshana: kick out)
2465 That white man is so negative
2466
2467 Uzothi loyamlungu hayi phumani phumani
2468 He will say that white man 'no get out get out'
2469
2470 Uyabona ngesikhathi sihamba ngezimoto zigebele leyatrhak
2471 You see the time we ride the cars that were on top of the truck
2472
2473 As'gibelanga laphaya thina, angithi sibamba laphaya phezulu
2474 We did not climb there, we just hold there on top
2475
2476 Cishe sishiya iixhatulo zethu
2477 We could have forgotten our shoes
2478
2479 Masiceda sibambe igate eliblack ntwana bathi wena uthi yilo yimi yimi
2480 After we held (when we were done holding) the black gate my friend, you said it was me, it's me
2481
2482 Asiyeni, uyafuna siye lapha kaMakhenzi
2483 Let's go, you want us to go there at MacKenzie's
2484
2485 Soyenzani?
2486 What are we going to do?
2487
2488 Soshishiliza
2489 We are going to a slippery road
2490
2491 Ya
2492 Yeah
2493

Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Innovation Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Bantu Other Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Bantu Other Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Relative CI9/cl10
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Relative
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

2494 Ngihamba ngemoto yami, ngithathe linye ipentjisi
2495 *I' m going with my car, I'm taking another peach*
2496
2497 Kade siwadla amapentshisi
2498 *It has been long since we ate peaches*
2499
2500 Awungiphe
2501 *Give (it) to me*
2502
2503 Hamba, uyocela kuloya
2504 *Go, you will ask from that one*
2505
2506 'Cela ungiphe impentshisi eli-one
2507 *Please give me one peach*
2508
2509 '-Thi ngizwe ukuthi limnandi yini leli
2510 *Let me taste if is this one nice*
2511
2512 '-Thi ngizwe '-thi ngizwe kuthi ukunike elivuthiwe yini
2513 *let me taste let me taste how ripe it is*
2514
2515 Livuthiwe, bheka
2516 *It is ripe, look*
2517
2518 Avuthiwe ane KS?
2519 *They are ripe isn't it KS?*
2520
2521 Bheka laphakathi
2522 *Look inside*
2523
2524 Siphuma *straight*, ya asiphumeni *so*
2525 *We are going straight, yeahs let us go this way*
2526
2527 Uthi loya unalo elakhe
2528 *he says that one has got his own*
2529
2530 Uthathile loya, bengiyibonile
2531 *He took that one, I saw it*
2532
2533 Ngimbonile kuthi kade ayiphethe
2534 *I saw him he was holding it for long*
2535
2536 Ngimbonile sekayilahlile
2537 *I saw him he threw it away (I saw him throw it away)*
2538
2539 Wena *san* ngiphe amapentshisi, akithi, niwathole laphaya, angithi
2540 *You boy give me my peaches, they're at my place, you (pl.) took them there, you see*
2541
2542 Unamanga
2543 *You are lying*

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

2544
2545 Niwathole kuphi?
2546 *where did you (pl.) get them?*
2547
2548 Kulesihlahla lesiya
2549 *On that tree*
2550
2551 Uyanya, niwathole kithi
2552 *You are lying, you (pl.) got them at my place*

2553 Ak'sishlahla sakini
2554 *That is not the tree from your place*
2555
2556 Esakithi
2557 *It is from my place*
2558
2559 Unamanga, lesashlahla asinamapentshisi
2560 *You're lying, this tree doesn't have peaches*
2561
2562 Ha Bofumo isikibha esethu, esokudlala
2563 *Yes Bofumo our T-shirt, the one we play with*
2564
2565 Is'bhamu sami esingaka mfowethu
2566 *My gun is a big one like this*
2567
2568 Nakhiya eskolweni sethu
2569 *Did you locked at our school*
2570
2571 KaMakhenzi sesiyafika, uthi *one two* sewuyafika
2572 *We've already arrived at MacKenzie's, you say one two and you arrive*
2573
2574 Mina ngithi *one two* ngifikile
2575 *I just say 1,2 I'm arrived*
2576
2577 Angazi kaMakhenzi
2578 *I don't know MacKenzie's*
2579
2580 Ngiye ngatshitshiriza kamnandi laphaya, loyamlungu loya
2581 *I once enjoyed slidding over there, that white man this one*
2582
2583 Ngiskorile **sharp sharp** sengiyakithi
2584 *I scored sharp I'm going home*
2585
2586 Hayi indaba akasekho, kodwa uyahlekisa
2587 *No there is no longer any problem, here he makes us laugh*
2588
2589 Aa ke a leboga
2590 *I thank you*
2591
2592 Bekuzoba yi-awi mfana

Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male
Language: Zulu Supervision: None
Location: Street To: Child same age
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Speaking alone
Speaker: Age 7-9
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Sport
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male

2593 *This is a throw-in ball boy*
2594
2595 Ugogo ungibelele uyazi
2596 *My grandmother did call me you know*
2597
2598 Yewena akusiyigoal
2599 *Hey you it is not a goal*
2600
2601 Ayigoal, yired card
2602 *It's not a goal, it's a red card*
2603
2604 Yi goal! Uyibonile imoto?
2605 *It is a goal! Did you see the car*
2606
2607 Red card, wo ngiyigaye ired card
2608 Red card, wow should give him a red card
2609
2610 Bathe red card ndoda
2611 *It is red card man*
2612
2613 Uphi uBuyisiwe
2614 *Where is Buyisiwe*
2615
2616 Angimazi, konje abanye abantu emhlabeni
2617 *I don't know him, there are other people on this world*
2618
2619 Abantu abamnyama abahlonipi abantu abamhlophe
2620 *Black people don't respect white people*
2621
2622 Balikhiphile
2623 *They took it out*
2624
2625 Leli yiplayer lami
2626 *This is my player*
2627
2628 Ngikutshelile ukuthi mafika ngimtshontshelile
2629 *I told him that when he arrive I stole it for him*
2630
2631 Lethani ibhola
2632 *Bring back the ball*
2633
2634 Mina bengina four
2635 *Me I had four*
2636
2637 Iyezi ambulands
2638 *It's coming ambulance*
2639
2640 'Cel' ulungise ichain
2641 *Can you please fix the chain*
2642

Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Sport
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Sport
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Sport
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male abantu abamnyama
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Sport
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Sport
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

2643 Mel' uprese la
2644 *You have to press here*
2645
2646 Yekela uzongithunukela
2647 *Live me alone*
2648
2649 Bengithi ngizokulungisa. Bye bye ngiye ambulensi
2650 *I wanted to fix it for you. Bye bye im going ambulance*
2651
2652 Iyez' iambulance eyamampela
2653 *It's the real ambulance*
2654
2655 Yo bayongithatha esbedlela
2656 *They will take me at the hospital*
2657
2658 Bokumnandi
2659 *It was so good*
2660
2661 Nay' iambulance yamampela asukuthathe, sak'thatha
2662 *There is the real umbulance, let us take you*
2663
2664 Sawubona ngicela ukubeka, mina angibonanga
2665 *Hello can I see, I didn't see*
2666
2667 Ufonele i-ambulance erong, ayisebenzi ngabantu abawile
2668 *You called the wrong ambulance, it doesn't work with people who fell down*
2669
2670 Call another ambulance
2671
2672 Yo yo yo, zoyi-two inyawo zilimele
2673 *Both feet are injured*
2674
2675 Lawa sharp
2676 *These ones sharp*
2677
2678 Hey ntwana kubuhlungu
2679 *Hey mate it is painful*
2680
2681 Kukani lomuntu loyo
2682 *Carry this person*
2683
2684 '-Thi ngibeke ulimele kuphi
2685 *Let me see where you are injured*
2686
2687 Kukani lomuntu lona azoyakubo
2688 *Carry this person there so that we can take him home*
2689
2690 Kamampela
2691 *For real*
2692

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: English Mix: Intersentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male CI9/cI10
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

2693 Woza woza
2694 *Come*
2695
2696 Mina ngiyasinda
2697 *I'm so heavy*
2698
2699 Hayi wena umtshelelani
2700 *Why do yo tell him*
2701
2702 Somtshela hayi
2703 *We will tell him no*
2704
2705 UMzamo ulimele, uhlabwe amabodlela ayitwo
2706 *Mzamo got injured, he cut himself on two bottles*
2707
2708 Uhlabwe hai handrad million
2709 *He cut himself haa hundred millions (of shattered pieces)*
2710
2711 Makwap sowutheng' isnukha
2712 *Makwap we 're going to buy a snooker*
2713
2714 Ulimele, uhlabwe amabodlela
2715 *He is injured, he got cut by bottles*
2716
2717 Bekadlal' estradini adlal' ibhola wahlabwa yibodlela
2718 *He was playing on the street when he fell on the bottle*
2719
2720 Wenzeni?
2721 *What was he doing?*
2722
2723 Wadlal' ibhola wahlaba yibodlela
2724 *He is playing football, he falls on a bottle*
2725
2726 Manje makalimele, ubani obulale amabodlela
2727 *Now he got injured, who broke the bottles*
2728
2729 He akafaki izixhathulo, eh makabuye azogeza, mele aye esibedlela
2730 *He doesn't wear shoes, let him come back and get a bath, he must go to the hospital*
2731
2732 Yini? yini?
2733 *What is it? what?*
2734
2735 Kuyabanda manje, wenzimsebenzi wobudetactive
2736 *It is cold now, he is doing detectives job*
2737
2738 Why ungakhulumi, ikhehle ingaka lizodla amaswidi
2739 *Why cant you speak, the big guy likes to eat sweets*
2740
2741 Ha mlungu, ngiyamtshela lobaba angwadli amaswidi
2742 *Ha my friend (lit.: white man), I am telling this old man that I don't eat sweets*

	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
	Location: Street	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
	Location: Street	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	-ni for why
	Location: Street	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
	Location: Street	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
	Location: Street	Speaker: Male	
	Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
	Location: Street	Speaker: Male	Topic: Sport
	Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
	Location: Street	Speaker: Male	
	Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
	Location: Street	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
	Location: Street	Speaker: Male	
	Mix: Insert Afrikaans	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
	Location: Street	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
	Location: Street	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
	Location: Street	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
	Location: Street	Speaker: Male	
	Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
	Language: Zulu	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age
	Location: Street	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
	Mix: Insert English	Speaker: Male	
	Mix: Transfer	Supervision: None	
	Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
	Location: Street	Supervision: None	
	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	

2743
2744 Sho **auti yam** n'cel' ukubuza kuthi let**sheri** bathi wu khanyi awix**avi**
2745 *Holla my brother can I please ask if you have seen this girl they call khanyi*
2746
2747 Khanyi yasema-1
2748 *The one stays by the Is (that stays in the neighbourhood of house numbers 1)*
2749
2750 **Ublomava?** Bajwayele ukuyihlisa **yi**, idark (c9 used for person, from itsheri)
2751 *Where does she stay? They like to drop her here, shes dark*
2752
2753 Angiyi**xavi** , idark haa (c1 used for person)
2754 *I don't see her, she's dark*
2755
2756 Ukort **utsheri**, wa khona, uhamba ngetransport yesikolo, uwehla la
2757 *She is short, from here, she goes to school with the school bus, she hops off here.*
2758
2759 Wo abasho uKholiwe lo
2760 *They dont say Kholiwe*
2761
2762 Babize, amsho basho uKholiwe lo
2763 *They asked, they told him they call her Kholiwe this one*
2764
2765 Bathe mos umude
2766 *They said clearly she is tall*
2767
2768 Mr detective, udone well kusebenzekile lomtwana lo
2769 *Mr Detective, you've done well it worked, ho this child!*
2770
2771 Labantu laba yibo basilahlayo... bhek' imoto ikuphi, bona basisa le bese bathi 24sec
2772 *This people down there who got us lost... look at where the car is, you see they took us there, then they say 24 seconds*
2773
2774 Uyakuphi?
2775 *Where are you going ?*
2776
2777 Bheka sekusele ten sec, iyab**ora** namanje lento le
2778 *Look it is almost ten second left, this is boring now that his there*
2779
2780 Bakuph' imali?
2781 *Did they give you money?*
2782
2783 Yeh?
2784 *Huh? (what?)*
2785
2786 Ngithi bakuphile imali?
2787 *I say did they give you money?*
2788
2789 Bangakuph' imali vele
2790 *The can't give you money obviously*
2791

Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Location: Street Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: English Mix: Intrasentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Language: Zulu Supervision: None
Location: Street To: Child same age
Mix: Insert English To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 7-9
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Money
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Money
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Money
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

2792 Uyayibuyisela?
2793 *Do you bring it back*
2794
2795 Yini?
2796 *What?*
2797
2798 Lemodo
2799 *This car*
2800
2801 Ngiyothata enye
2802 *I am going to take another one*
2803
2804 Uzoyibusel' endlini
2805 *Are you bringing it back home*
2806
2807 Ngiy' ePolice station
2808 *I am going to police station*
2809
2810 Seling**abora** legame, akunaniks engiyenzayo
2811 *This game is boring, there is nothing im doing*
2812
2813 Come in
2814
2815 Usahlala la?
2816 *Are you still staying here?*
2817
2818 Wena o sa dula mo?
2819 *Are you staying here?*
2820
2821 Ma bangangik**wat**isa kahle, ngayehla ngibadubule
2822 *If they could cross me off well I will get off and shoot them*
2823
2824
2825
2826
2827
2828

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Location: Street Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Location: House Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu
Location: Street
Mix: Insert Iscamtho
Register: Iscamtho
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Male
Supervision: None
To: Child same age
To: Male

001
002
003 Ngithenge eyi-**five bop**
004 *I bought the fifty cent one*
005
006 Bathe nikhulume isetsotsi
007 *They say you (pl.) should speak tsotsi*
008
009 Ithi ngibeke i-two rand yakho
010 *Let me see your two rand*
011
012 Aku-yi-se two rand, yi-one rand
013 *It's not two rands, it's a one rand*
014
015 Ngiyocama futhi ngiyodlala 'zwipi' (ZS: chama 'urinate')
016 *I'm going to pee, and I am going to play spin*
017
018 Ngicela ukudlala
019 *Please can I play?*
020
021 Ngiphe, ngizokushiyela
022 *Give me, I will give back to you*
023
024 Ungamuphi, akaceli. Awuqwal' i-**clever** wena
025 *Don't give him, he doesn't ask. You're not afraid of any guy, you*
026
027 Ngizokushaya ngeshama (SZ: -shaya 'hit')
028 *I will shoot you with a gun*
029
030 Kulento le ngizokushiyela isweeteat yakho
031 *At that thing there, I will leave you your sweeteat*
032
033 Unemalini?
034 *How much money do you have?*
035
036 **Ukgata** izolo ngimshaye so, uyazi sikhona is'bhamu esingaka emhlabeni?
037 *A cop yesterday I hit him like this, do you know there is such a big gun in the world?*
038
039 Mina ngike ngasibamba isibhamu
040 *I once held a gun*
041
042 Mina ma ngingasibamba ngadla phansi (-dla phansi: lit. 'eat on the ground', idiom non-standard, origin unknown)
043 *Me if I could hold it it will run anyway*
044
045 Ungabaleka
046 *You will run away*
047
048 Mina ngike ngabamba is'bhamu samampela
049 *I once held a real gun*

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Money
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Trade
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Young Teenager Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Money
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Topic: Money
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Language: Zulu Speaker: Young Teenager
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Young Teenager
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Young Teenager
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Money
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Young Teenager Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Language: Zulu Supervision: None
Location: Street To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Young Teenager
Speaker: Age 7-9 Topic: Crime Related
Speaker: Female
Language: Zulu Supervision: None
Location: Street To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Speaker: Young Teenager Topic: Crime Related
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male

050
051 Phumani kulemoto... bha! (onomatopeia for a gun shot)
052 *Get out of this car bha!*
053
054 Awunelicence
055 *You don't have a licence*
056
057 Vele anginayo ...i-licence
058 *Sure I don't have... a licence*
059
060 Kube uyayihlaba
061 *You should steal it*
062
063 Uyakhumbula siyob**ay**' amakhota noLebo. Lithi **lekgata** 'uyasifuna isibhamu'. ngathi angisifuni lasibeka phezulu
etafuleni kaMakhenzi
064 *You remember when we went to buy khotas with Lebo. Tihis cop says 'you want the gun'. I said I don't want it, then he
placed it on the table at MacKenzie (khota: a local kind of hot sandwich)*
065
066 **Qwala** ngoc**lever** es'kaleni, yewena **clever** awushayi **iskhamaround**
067 *Feel the clever in this place, you man don't spin around*
068
069 Nyeke sekhulume nalezi
070 *We won't speak to these ones*
071
072 Awuthi s'**gembule** manje, awuthi s'dlale **amadais**. akuphume imali madoda kushuke imali
073 *Let's gamble now, let's play dices. Pop out money guys, ruffle money*
074
075 yo **cava** yiwe phansi
076 *Yo look, it fell on the ground*
077
078 Haka 2011, yeka 2010 lento le
079 *These are from 2011, this thing is from 2010 (it is outdated)*
080
081 Baphi 'bo**clever**, wena ngizobopha maphoyisa *your shit*, aih *voetsek* man !
082 *Where are the clever, you I'll get you arrested by police you shit, aih, piss off man !*
083
084 *Voetsek wena!*
085 *You piss off !*
086
087 Yini wena?
088 *What is it with you?*
089
090 Bheka let**sheri**, bheka let**sheri** ! Uyabona leya ngingayinyoba!
091 *Look at that girl, look at that girl! You see this one I could fuck her!*
092
093 Akushukwe am**adais** nou mfethu, ngithi awuyophanda am**adais**
094 *Let's ruffle the dice now bro, I'm saying go and look for dices.*
095
096 Hambo' funa am**adais** wena
097 *Go and look for the dices you*

Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Young Teenager
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu To: Male
Location: Street To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Topic: Crime Related
Register: Iscamtho
Speaker: Male
Speaker: Young Teenager
Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Young Teenager Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Money
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Young Teenager
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Young Teenager
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Vulgar To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Young Teenager
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Young Teenager
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Vulgar To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Young Teenager
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None

098
099 Ayih mina angikhulum' isitsotsi mina
100 *No I don't speak tsotsitaal*
101
102 Bava laboclever ?
103 *Where are these clevers ?*
104
105 Yeh?
106 *What?*
107
108 Heh mele uphate **inombolo** isukile **inombolo** manje
109 *You should have a number, the law of number is on now*
110
111 Un**enombolo** wena?
112 *Do you have a number you ?*
113
114 Hey, mina ngin**enombolo**
115 *Hey, I do have a number*
116
117 Ikuphi manje?
118 *Where is it now?*
119
120 Nayila la enyaweni
121 *Here it is in the leg*
122
123 Uyayazi yin' **inombolo vobe**. Uyaz' **inombolo** yini wo-7?
124 *Do you know what's the law of number fool? You know law of number is 7.*
125
126 Uyabona u-7 mawuphete **inombolo** uyadubula, udubula labalungu labadubula lamaphoisa. Asiyor**ob'** **ibenk** manje.
127 *You see 7 if you have the law you shoot. You shoot these whites and you shoot the police. Let's go and rob a bank now.*
128
129 Asirobe **ibank** la!
130 *Let's go rob a bank here*
131
132 Asambe, asambe
133 *Let's go, let's go*
134
135 Fikile, zifikile izinja *and entlek* manje isokile **inombolo**. Biza labosathane laba. (Afr.: *eintlik*)
136 *We have arrived, dogs have arrived and obvious now the law of the number is on. Call those Satans.*
137
138 Mele siyoroba **ibank** manje
139 *(It is a must that) We're going to rob a bank now*
140
141 Asidlale amad**ais**
142 *Let's play dice*
143
144 Ungijwayela amasimba, amasimba awes'!
145 *You take me for shit, worse shit!*
146

Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Young Teenager
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Young Teenager Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert Prison Slang Lexicon Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Young Teenager
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert Prison Slang Lexicon Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Young Teenager Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert Prison Slang Lexicon Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Young Teenager
Language: Zulu Speaker: Young Teenager Topic: Crime Related
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Mix: Insert Prison Slang Lexicon Supervision: None
Location: Street Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Mix: Insert Prison Slang Lexicon To: Male
Register: Iscamtho To: Young Teenager
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Older Child
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Mix: Insert Prison Slang Lexicon Supervision: None
Location: Street Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Young Teenager Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Young Teenager
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Vulgar To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Younger Child

147 Ngizokuqanda mina, ungijwayela amasimba umsunu ka nyoko
148 *I'll strike you, you take me for shit your mum's pussy*
149
150 Akekho umuntu enginosabayo
151 *There is no-one who scares me*
152
153 Mina ngidamara, ntwana
154 *I am a damara (meaning unclear), boy*
155
156 Ye wena **san** ngigaye lento leyo
157 *Hey you boy give me that thing*
158
159 Ungazoji ngoboc**leva**
160 *Don't come with your tricks*
161
162 Mina ngizokuroba wena
163 *I'll hit (break) you*
164
165 Roba **san**!
166 *Hit boy!*
167
168 *(young boy crying)*
169
170 **Cava** lentwana iphethe *iphone* irobe *ibenk*, i-2000.
171 *Look at the boy, he has got a phone, he robbed a bank, a 2000.*
172
173 **Asivaye** siyoyihlaba leya *phone*
174 *Let's go and steal that phone*
175
176 Ye wena khipa leyo *phone*
177 *Hey you, take out that phone*
178
179 Akuse leyami
180 *It's not mine*
181
182 Khipha leyo *phone* leyo
183 *Take out that phone*
184
185 Sizokukhaba uyezwa
186 *We will kick you, you hear?*
187
188 Sizokhaba **intwana**
189 *We will kick the little boy* (association btw *Isc. intwana 'guy, mate'* and *Zulu umntwana 'a child'*)
190
191 Nizongishaya kwamampela?
192 *You (pl.) will hit me for real?*
193
194 Kukhona umuntu ukhulumayo la Khutso? Angithi umlungu.
195 *There is someone speaking here Khutso ? Is it the white man?*
196

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Vulgar To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Language: Zulu Speaker: Young Teenager
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Young Teenager
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Young Teenager
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Sotho Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Sotho To: Male
Location: Street To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Iscamtho
Register: Iscamtho
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Male
Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Young Teenager
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Recorder
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Young Teenager Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Recorder
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Young Teenager Topic: Crime Related
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Young Teenager
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Language: Zulu Speaker: Young Teenager Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Younger Child

197 Unga presi
198 *Don't press it*
199
200 Badlala laboc**leva** emakhoneni, **fader**
201 *These clevers play at the corners, father (meaning policeman)*
202
203 *My baby* uyazi ungiwayela masipa, ngizoyibulala nalapha, *ejele* ngizobabonisa, *repa* ibunu
204 *My baby you know you give me shit, I will kill him here in jail, I'll show them, rape his ass.*
205
206 Wena ngiyayithatha *isweeteat* yakhe
207 *You I'm taking your sweeteat*
208
209 Ngizokulimaza **blind** wena
210 *I will hurt you very bad, you*
211 (blind: 'a lot' in this case. cf. English 'they stole him blind')
212
213 Ngathi awuqwali ngen**ombolo**
214 *It's like you don't take the number into consideration*
215
216 Uyamazi u**Mavesta**, we?
217 *Do you know Mavesta, huh ?*
218
219 Mele kut**sheshe** kusebenzeke. Yin' **inombolo** ? (SZ: trim the edge or fat of the meat)
220 *You must do things fast. What is the number ?*
221
222 Uyamazi u**Mavesta** ? Mina ngiyisiqebengu esikhulu
223 *Do you know Mavesta ? I'm a big criminal*
224
225 Ngingu-X ungasolveki. Mina ngidamara **ntwana** yam'. Bangibiza ubhuti Madlesa ngoba ngiyadlisana.
226 *I am the X you cannot solve. I am a damara (meaning unknown) my boy, they call me brother Nicething because I don't see anything that says they have to be nice things to eat.*
227
228 Udlisana amasimba
229 *You give out shit*
230
231 Nalabelungu ngizobabamba ngibashaye. Ngeroma ngimorepe mangiceda ngemolahle ngis'gembengu asikhulu, mina ngidamara
232 *Even with these whites I will hold them. With romance I would her then rape her throw her away. I'm a big criminal I'm damara.*
233
234
235 Djela amagenge angacabani
236 Ngi u-X ungasolveki
237 Ngis'gebengu isingakhuzeki
238 *Tell the guys not to fight*
239 *I am an X that can't be solved*
240 *Criminal that you tame*
241
242 Nxah! Ye wena **san** ungazoj**wayela** kabi, ubani othe secula nawe? (SZ: 'don't get accustomed to')

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Speaking alone
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Speaker: Young Teenager
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Speaking alone
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Young Teenager
Location: Street Supervision: None
Mix: Insert Iscamtho To: Male
Register: Iscamtho To: Younger Child
Speaker: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert Prison Slang Lexicon Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Young Teenager
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert Prison Slang Lexicon Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Young Teenager Topic: Crime Related
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 Topic: Crime Related
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Mix: Insert Iscamtho To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Young Teenager
Language: Zulu Speaker: Young Teenager
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Vulgar To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu To: Young Teenager
Location: Street Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert English Topic: Role playing
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 5-6
Speaker: Male
Supervision: None
To: Speaking alone
Topic: Crime Related
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None

243 *Nxah! Hey boy don't give us shit badly, who said we are singing with you?*
244
245 Ngisgebengu esingakhuzeki
246
247 Sokushaya, sokukhapa madlebe wakho
248 Ngi u-X ungasolveki
249 Nina magenge ningaxabani
250 ngisgebengu isingakhazeki
251 Ngi u-X...
252 *(We will beat you, we will kick you your ears...)*
253
254 Wola Tosh, wola Tosh!
255 *Hey Tosh, hey Tosh*
256
257 Awungigaye **ipondo da** mfethu ngiyobaya izolo ngiyothola igada
258 *Give me the two rands brother rands, so I can buy weed so I can get dagga*
259
260 Siyobaya inyaope, e a bolaya
261 *We will buy nyaope, it kills*
262
263 Ka o fela wa tseba **ntwana**
264 *Everything you know boy*
265
266 Imalin' ibeer mfethu ?
267 *How much is a beer brother ?*
268
269 Twenty randi
270
271 Mina ngiphethe **fifty dah**
272 *I've got fifty bucks*
273
274 Mina ngiphethe **two klipa**
275 *I've got 200 bucks*
276
277 He s'bali ungilandele lento leyana
278 *My friend fetch that thing for me the one there*
279
280 Manje ucabanga ukuthi ngingowe mina
281 *Now you think I'm you*
282
283 He **sani!** he wena!
284 *Hey boy hey you*
285
286 Ngoba sewubemile
287 *Because you have smoked*
288
289 Lowugengsta ngugensta because ng'u**Magenge**
290 *This is a gangster, I am a gangster because I'm Magenge*
291
292 Mina ng'u**Ma**Vesta **san**, ngizokubulala nou

Mix: Insert Iscamtho To: Male
Register: Iscamtho To: Younger Child
Speaker: Age 7-9
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Speaking alone Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Speaker: Age 5-6 Supervision: None Topic: Crime Related
Language: Zulu Topic: Role playing
Location: Street
Mix: Insert English
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 5-6
Speaker: Male
Supervision: None
To: Speaking alone
Topic: Crime Related
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Young Teenager Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Money
Register: Iscamtho To: Male Topic: Role playing
Language: Sotho Mix: Intersentential Switch Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Young Teenager Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Older Child
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Undertermined Mix: Insert English Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Younger Child Topi
Location: Street Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Male Topic: Money
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Older Child
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Money
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Money
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Young Teenager
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Older Child
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Young Teenager
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Young Teenager Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Male

293 *I'm MaVesta boy, I will kill you now*
294
295 Luvo masimba dudula. Faka uX, faka ichoice fak' **indlwabe**. Wena **san** uyibari. Wena MaVesta uyibari
296 *Luvo you shit taker. Put on X, put on a condom, put on masturbation. You son you're a fool. You MaVesta you are a fool*
297
298 Akusheshe kusebenzeke, isukile **inombolo**. Uyaphapha nokuphapha, *o na lekoloyi*
299 *Let things be fast, the number is on. You're too much and too much of yourself, you have car*
300
301 *Bua khuluma is'tsotsi*
302 *Talk speak Tsotsi*
303
304 Ngizob**ay**isa amaKhavela, iKhavela
305 *I will sell Carvelas (shoes), a carvela.*
306
307 Uyalecava le**trhak**: 'mina bengi**blome** nabangani bam' bengi**blome** nabangani kwafika amak**gata**.'
308 *Do you know this song: 'I was hanging with my friends, hanging with my friends, then the cops arrived'*
309
310 Yeh cwala is'kele manje
311 *Yeh, be with us in spirit now*
312 *LITT: comb the scissors now*
313
314 Asiyodlala amad**ais**'
315 Let's go and play dice
316
317 ...Kofika amak**gata**...
318 Then the cops arrived
319
320 Yayi asibabonanga, sicine baj**ampa** ibonda, akusi, yithi besenga dlali amad**ais**'
321 *No we never saw them, we (saw them) last jumping over the wall, it's not us, that is we were not playing dice.*
322
323 Udlala nobani manje
324 *Who are you playing with now?*
325
326 Ngidlala, ngidlala noPotso
327 *I'm playing with Potso*
328
329 Khutso!
330
331 Yeh?
332
333 Yilo mdala, *why* ukhaliswa yi ntombazana ?
334 *This one is the oldest, why does a girl make you cry ?*
335
336 Akangikhaliswa, woye ungikhalisile
337 *She was not cause to cry by me, she is the one who made me cry*
338
339 Woye ukukhalisile, *why* wena uvuma ukhaliswa yi ntombazana. Ungabokhula mawushayiwa yi ntombazana.
340 *It is her, she is the one that made you cry. Why do you allow a girl to make you cry? You can't cry when a girl beats you up.*

Location: Street Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Mix: Insert Iscamtho To: Male
Register: Vulgar To: Young Teenager
Speaker: Age 5-6 Topic: Role playing
Language: Sotho Mix: Intrasentential Switch Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Mix: Insert Prison Slang Lexicon Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Language: Sotho Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Young Teenager Topic: Recorder
Mix: Intrasentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Supervision: None
Location: Street To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Speaker: Male
Speaker: Young Teenager
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Young Teenager
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 Topic: Crime Related
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Speaking alone
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Young Teenager
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Street Supervision: Teenager
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Female To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: Teenager
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Younger Child
Language: Undertermined Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Under 5 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Female Supervision: Teenager To: Older Child
Language: Undertermined Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Age 5-6 Supervision: Teenager To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Supervision: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Relative To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: Street Supervision: Adult To: Older Teenager
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Age 5-6 Supervision: Teenager
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Relative Topic: Parenting
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male

341
342 Cena, cena, nje ngendoda
343 *Be strong, be strong, just like a man*
344
345 Wenzani ? Wenza isweeteat?
346 *What are you doing ? Do you do the sweeteat ?*
347
348 Injani lesweeeat phela? Uyayizwa isweet?
349 *How is this sweeteat now ? Can you taste it is sweet ?*
350
351 Ngiyizwa **igrand**
352 *I taste, it's OK*
353
354 Ngiyalumana mina vele nalumana
355 *I bite people, indeed I bite*
356
357 Citha amanzi. Faka isandla sakho. Cabanga akusi wowe wi-one, uzowaphuza nabanye bazophuza.
358 *Pour out water. Put your hand. Think it's not for you alone, that's going to drink, others will drink too.*
359
360 Bheka nayi iyaphoma i-sweeteat
361 *Look the sweeteat is coming out*
362
363 Asiyiphuze
364 *Let's drink it*
365
366 Uyahlanya wena, ushayiwa yitsheri. Iitsheri zinencondo ifishane
367 *Are you mad, you have been beaten by a girl. Girls they have a small brain*
368
369 Uyasika
370 *You're mad*
371
372 Asivaye Potso
373 *Let's go Potso*
374
375 Ngiyahamba
376 *I'm going*
377
378 Yini ukhalelani
379 *What is it? What are you crying about?*
380
381 Asambeni
382 *Let's go*
383
384 Yeh Kholiwe asihambe siye **ejaik**
385 *He Kholiwe let's go, we're going to the swimming pool*
386
387 Uyasaleni ngiyadlala asambe
388 *You're staying behind, I'm playing let's go then.*
389
390 Sala la Kagiso!

Speaker: Adult To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Relative To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Adult Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male To: Young Teenager
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Teenager
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Teenager
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Female To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Older Child
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Innovation Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Male CI9/cl10
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Young Teenager
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Female To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Female To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5

391 *Stay here Kagiso!*
392
393 Unayo imali ?
394 *Do you have it the money*
395
396 Mina nginayo imali
397 *I do have it the money*
398
399 niya e**jaiki** nani ?
400 *Are you going to the pool with us?*
401
402 Ubani kanje leyo?
403 *Who is that one?*
404
405 Kunale laye ma-1, enes'bhamu
406 *It is the one from the 1's (area of house numbers in 1) he has a gun*
407
408 Le emhlophe le?
409 *The light one? (in complexion)*
410
411 Bheka bheka!
412 *Look, look!*
413
414 Wena uyakuphi phela?
415 *You where are you going really?*
416
417 Asiv**ayeni**. Sehambile Is'khathi
418 *Lets go. Time has passed (it's getting late)*
419
420 Sekuwu-one
421 *It's one o'clock*
422
423 Wobani uzot**sehkha** isikhathi?
424 *Who will go check the time?*
425
426 Awumucokise lapha sihambeni
427 *Dress her up so that we can go*
428
429 Leyana bayiphushe kaso yawa yavuleka umunya ngo idusbin. Leya leya.
430 *Tose ones there they pushed it this way and it fell and it opened the door, to that garbage bin. This one, this one.*
431
432 Ikhona neyami
433 *Mine is also there*
434
435 Hambe ilanda
436 *Go and get it*
437
438 Yo, o tsamaile ka mali eyelo, ke lo sheba ko yeno.
439 *Wow, he left with the yellow money, I'm going to look at your place*
440

Location: Street
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Female
Supervision: None
To: Male
To: Older Child
Language: Zulu
Location: Street
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Female
Topic: Money
Supervision: None
To: Male
To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu
Location: Street
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 5-6
Speaker: Male
Topic: Money
Supervision: None
To: Female
To: Older Child
Language: Zulu
Location: Street
Mix: Insert Iscamtho
Register: Iscamtho
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Male
To: Female
Supervision: None
To: Child same age
Language: Zulu
Location: Street
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Male
Supervision: None
To: Child same age
To: Male
Language: Zulu
Location: Street
Mix: Insert English
Mix: Insert Iscamtho
Register: Iscamtho
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Male
Topic: Crime Related
Supervision: None
To: Child same age
To: Male
Language: Zulu
Location: Street
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 5-6
Speaker: Male
Supervision: None
To: Male
To: Older Child
Language: Zulu
Location: Street
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Male
Supervision: None
To: Male
To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu
Location: Street
Mix: Insert Iscamtho
Register: Iscamtho
Speaker: Age 5-6
Speaker: Male
To: Older Child
Supervision: None
To: Male
Language: Zulu
Location: Street
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 5-6
Speaker: Male
Supervision: None
To: Male
To: Older Child
Language: Zulu
Location: Street
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Male
Supervision: None
To: Male
To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu
Location: Street
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 5-6
Speaker: Male
Supervision: None
To: Male
To: Older Child
Language: Sotho
Location: Street
Mix: Insert English
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 5-6
Speaker: Male
Supervision: None
To: Older Child
To: Male

441 Eng?
442 What ?
443
444 Tsamaya o ye ko yeno, tsamaya a ke na taba
445 *Go to your place, go I don't care*
446
447 Hai ngicela ukuphusha yasekhaya. Hamba uyathatha eyakini
448 *Hey please can I push the one at my place. Go and take (one) from your place*
449
450 Madlebe, madlebe !
451 *Big Ears, Big Ears !*
452
453 Yayi umuntu wamadusbin
454 *No it's someone from the garbage bins*
455
456 Lo ufana umuntu wasemadusbin
457 *This one is like someone from the garbage bins*
458
459 Kanti banokufaka abantwna emadusbinini
460 *Sometimes they put kids inside the garbage bin*
461
462 Kagiso uphumile uWay'ti
463 *Kagiso, Whitey is out* (name of the dog)
464
465 Kagiso ngiyakho djela ula
466 *Kagiso I'm telling you he's here*
467
468 Bheka, bhek'imoto phela
469 *Look, look at the car really*
470
471 Fonela amaphoyisa
472 *Call the cops*
473
474 Siya e**jaiki**, uyasala wena
475 *We go to the swimming pool, you're going to stay behind*
476
477 Kagiso sehamba naye eswimming
478 *Kagiso we're going with her to the swimming pool*
479
480 Yini baba? Hamba uyekini
481 *What is wrong man? Go to your place*
482
483 Yisghubu saka lo
484 *It is her squeezer-box*
485
486 Ngifuna ukukubiza
487 *I want to ask her*
488
489 Khuluma isiTsotsi mfanam'
490 *Speak Tsotsi my boy*

Language: Sotho	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Younger Child	
Language: Sotho	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	
Speaker: Age 5-6	To: Older Child	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	
Speaker: Age 5-6	To: Older Child	
Language: Undertermined	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Adult	
Speaker: Age 5-6	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Younger Child
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 5-6	To: Older Child
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Younger Child
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 5-6	To: Older Child
Location: Street	Speaker: Male	
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	
Speaker: Age 5-6	To: Older Child	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 5-6	To: Relative
Location: Yard	Speaker: Male	To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Iscamtho	Supervision: None	
Register: Iscamtho	To: Female	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 5-6	To: Older Child
Location: Yard	Speaker: Male	
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	
Speaker: Age 5-6	To: Older Child	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Younger Child	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	
Speaker: Age 5-6	To: Older Child	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Location: Street	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	

491
492 Sekhulume s'khulume
493 *Speak it, speak it*
494
495 Woh angicedanga. U-*never* uyikhiphe. Bheka !
496 *Wow I'm not finished. You won't take it out. Look!*
497
498 Ngiyayicitha.
499 *I'm pouring it.*
500
501 Ngiyayipotshoza iyaphuma.Qwinya futhi
502 *I am squeezing it, it is getting out. Swallow again*
503
504 Wandile *come on* letha man, letha.
505 *Wandile bring it man, bring it*
506
507 Yekela *man i-fester*
508 *Leave the window man*
509
510 Uyangilimasa
511 *You're hurting me*
512
513 Ufikile. Phakisa Kagiso
514 *He did come. Hurry Kagiso*
515
516 Uzomosha leno yabantu
517 *You will damage someone's thing*
518
519 Yini?
520 *What?*
521
522 Le uyifake la entameni
523 *This onethat you put there around your neck*
524
525 Wena cetha lamanzi
526 *You pour this water*
527
528 Bathe ngingacithi'amanzi.
529 *They said I must not pour this water.*
530
531 Yahaaa. Yahaahaa. Yahaaa
532
533 Ngiyomtshela ubabam'.
534 *I'm going to tell my dad*
535
536 Sizomfunela *it'sheri*. Bheka uPhila ufikile.
537 *We will look for a girlfriend for him. Look Phila came.*
538
539 Shimane ngigaye i-**pondo**
540 *Shimane give me two rands.*

Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Topic: Recorder
Location: Street
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 5-6
Speaker: Male
Supervision: None
To: Male
To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Older Child
Location: House Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Female To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: House Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: House Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Male
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho Supervision: Female
Location: House Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Child same age
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Female To: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: House Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Yard Speaker: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Yard Speaker: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult To: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Adult
Language: Zulu To: Older Child
Location: Street
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 5-6
Speaker: Male
Supervision: None
To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Money
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

541
542 Niyasala nina
543 *You're staying behind guys*
544
545 Hayi mfana, siyikhako siyahamba nathi.
546 *No boy, we are pros, we're going.*
547
548 Ngizoyifaka lana bese ngiyirole, ngiyirole so
549 *I'll put it here and then I roll it, I roll it like this.*
550
551 Uzokufaka uPhila
552 *He will pay for you Phila*
553
554 Sizongena mahala
555 *We will enter for free*
556
557 Ngiphe imali
558 *Give me money*
559
560 Sizongena ngemalini, ngeshumi ? Imalini?
561 *We will enter for how much, for one rand ? How much is it?*
562
563 Siyahamba thina
564 *Us we are going*
565
566 Unamanga
567 *You are lying*
568
569 Niya sala nina niye-two
570 *You (pl.) you are staying behind the both of you*
571
572 Ngisala nobani ? Ngisala noJupJup ?
573 *I am staying with whom ? I am staying with JupJup?*
574
575 Udlala nobani, iJupJup ? (C9 uinstead of C1)
576 *Who are you playing with, JupJup ?*
577
578 Ngidlala nge-three bop
579 *I'm playing with thirty cents*
580
581 Mina ngidlala nge-one rand fifty yayi nge-two rands
582 *Me I play with one rand fifty, not with two rands*
583
584 Kufuneka i-fifty, ngiyahluka manje
585 *We want a fifty rand, I'm changing now*
586
587 Ngizokubezela uTriks
588 *I will call Triks on you*
589
590 Ye Kholiwe siyahamba

Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Older Child
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Older Child
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Sotho Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Money
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Older Child
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Money
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male Topic: Money
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male

591 *He Kholiwe we are going*
592
593 *Ye wena **san** awungigayi amachips*
594 *He you boy you're not giving me snacks?*
595
596 *Mina ngiyavaya kusasa*
597 *Me I am going tomorrow*
598
599 *Yayi Heka Pierre*
600 *No it's Pierre's*
601
602 *Sasa ngiyavaya*
603 *Tomorrow I am going.*
604
605 *Hah, uyangilandele ?*
606 *Hah, are you following me ?*
607
608 *Yayi ngiyabuya*
609 *No I'm coming back*
610
611 *Uzongithola kithi ne ?*
612 *You'll get me at my place, ne ?*
613
614
615
616

Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Older Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu
Location: Street
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Male
Supervision: None
To: Child same age
To: Male

001
002
003
004 Baba
005 *Father* (or Dad)
006
007 mm
008
009 Baba ngicel' umkhuthaze
010 *father advice him/her*
011
012 Woza Ntombi
013 *come Ntombi*
014
015 OK!
016
017 Uthi labafana bebayenzani? Mawuthanda unditshele
018 *you say those boys were doing what? If you like you can tell me*
019
020 Woza Ntombi uzoma la
021 *come Ntombi you will stay here*
022
023 Iwaladi awuyitholanga?
024 *the wallet did you not find it?*
025
026 Woza
027 *come*
028
029 Woza la Ntombi
030 *come here Ntombi*
031
032 Yeh?
033
034 Sebacalile bayakuqhaqha? Uqhaqhwe ubani?
035 *they have started dressing your hair? Who is dressing you hair?*
036
037 Woza
038 *come*
039
040 Woza, woza, Ntombi
041 *come Ntombi*
042
043 Woza ngikufase kahle, hayi bheka Londiwe hayi muhle
044 *come let me tie you nicely, wow look at Londiwe wow she is beautiful*
045
046 Solala manje
047 *we are going to sleep now*
048
049 Wozoma la. Wozoma la.
050 *come here*

Recording 3

Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Father
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Adult Speaker: Male To: Relative Topic: Parenting
Location: Yard Speaker: Father To: Female To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Father
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Language: English Location: Yard Speaker: Female Supervision: Adult To: Female
Language: Undertermined Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Under 5 Supervision: Male To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Yard Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Bantu Other Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult To: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Yard Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Undertermined Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Under 5 Supervision: Male To: Father Topic: Parer
Location: Yard Speaker: Female Supervision: Adult To: Adult To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult To: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Child same age
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Relative

051
052 Uyomfasa? Uyomfasa?
053 *Are you going to tie her (hair)? Are you going to tie her?*
054
055 Mmm, angithi uthe ngimfase
056 *mmm, but you told me to tie her*
057
058 Yoooh, angikwazi ukumfasa. Thatha, woza ngikufase ngale. Bamba le. Bamba le. Aah nawe uzoma lana.
059 *Yo I don't know how to tie her. Take, come let me tie you. Hold this. Hold this. Aah you two come here.*
060
061 Woza Ntombi woza la , woza eish, sukuma. Wozoma la
062 *come Ntombi comen here, come here ha, stand up. Come stand here*
063
064 Khuluma la, khuluma. Yo ngizokufasa kanjani?
065 *speak there, speak. Wow how am I going you tie you*
066
067 Baba yini lena? yini lena?
068 *father what is this? whats this?*
069
070 Yibag
071 *it's a bag*
072
073 Sukuma wena, sukuma Ntombi
074 *stand up, stand up Ntombi*
075
076 Yima ukudula ibag yakaSonto wena
077 *stop pulling Sonto's bag you*
078
079 Woza, wenzani lapho suka lapho ngibheke, wozoma nami.
080 *come, what are you doing there, look at me come stand with me*
081
082 Haa ungangiphushi, woza unga hambi uye kuSonto
083 *Don't push me, come don't go to Sonto*
084
085 Phela mawuhamba uya kuSonto ngeke ngiphinde ngikuphe amaswidi neyistockswidi.
086 *If you go to Sonto I wont give you my sweet and stalk sweet*
087
088 Woza, awufuni?
089 *Come, you don't want?*
090
091 Awuthi esiyi-one is-toksweet
092 *give me one stock sweet (lollypop)*
093
094 Mina ngimelana
095 *I am standing here*
096
097 *Istoksweet!*
098
099 *Stoksweet!*
100

Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Father
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Child same age Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male To: Female
Speaker: Female To: Adult To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Father
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Female To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Female To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Trade
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Female To: Female
Language: Zulu Mix: Insert English Speaker: Adult To: Adult Topic: Trade
Location: Shop Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: English Language: Zulu Mix: Insert English Speaker: Adult To: Adult Topic: Trade
Language: Undertermined Location: Shop Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Male

101 Quit, quit!
102
103 Ngaye, nagye i-stoksweet esi-one
104 give me one stalk sweet
105
106 Yah, sho ne? (sho: from Eng. sure)
107 Yeah, alright is it?
108
109 Nthabi ngaye two rand
110 Nthabi give me a two rand
111
112 Awunginikang' i-shumi
113 you didn't give me one rand
114
115 Woza. Woza! Eish! Umfase
116 come. Come! Eish! tie me (my hair)
117
118 Woza ke, woza nothando
119 come now, come nothando
120
121 Yeh?
122
123 Wozoma nami, ngicela ungidobele
124 Come with me, may you please pick it up for me,
125
126 Letha man eish
127 Bring that
128
129 Yeh?
130 What?
131
132 Bheka, bheka
133 Look
134
135 Ikuphi enye
136 Where is it the another one?
137
138 Suka lapho, ngibheke enye
139 Move from there, let me look for another one
140
141 Hamboyithatha (SZ: hamboyithathe)
142 Go and take it
143
144 Ayikho, ayikho Thando
145 it is not here, it is not here thando
146
147 Ooh, ooh wozoma nami (SZ:wozome)
148 Hoo, hoo come and stay with me
149
150 Yee hee ngicedile, ngi-good girl

Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Adult To: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Trade
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Adult
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Money
Location: Shop Speaker: Male Topic: Trade
Mix: Insert English To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Money
Location: Shop Speaker: Male Topic: Trade
Mix: Insert Iscamtho To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Female To: Female
Language: Zulu To: Older Child
Location: Street
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Female
Speaker: Under 5
Supervision: Adult
To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Relative
Location: Street Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Female To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Female To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Street Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Female To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Younger Child
Location: Street Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Female To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Younger Child
Location: Street Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Female To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Relative
Location: Street Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Female To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Younger Child
Location: Street Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Female To: Relative
Language: Innovation Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female

151 *Yes I am finish i'm a good girl*
152
153 Ucedile
154 *I you finished*
155
156 Hayi wena, uzolahla
157 *Not you, she/he will throw away*
158
159 Hamboyithatha (SZ: hamboyithathe)
160 *Go and fetch it*
161
162 Hayi
163 *No*
164
165 Woza ngilifake
166 *Come let me put it*
167
168 Wozoma nami Ntombi, fak'izandla eziyi-two so, beka so. Faka lethla, woza, ngizokufasa
169 *Come here Ntombi, put two hands like this, look like this. Put, bring, come, let me tie you*
170
171 Amaphoyisa awambambi
172 *Police did not arrest him*
173
174 Ambambile
175 *They arrested him*
176
177 Wo.. ya.. ngengathuma umuntu, malini konje intsu, yishumi? Ngayo thenga intsu, impuphu ne.
178 *Ok I send someone, by the way how much is snuff, is it one rand? I went to bye snuff, meal ok?*
179
180 Angisakhumbuli
181 *I can't remember*
182
183 **Shumi**, ngayothenga intsu, ya ya kwasala
184 *One rand, I went to bye snuff, yes yes it was one rand left*
185
186 Ntombi woza
187 *Ntombi come*
188
189 Sanibonani!
190 *Hello*
191
192 Ukhuluma nge-phone
193 *She's talking on the phone*
194
195 Hello baby! Sheba ke a o batla
196 *Hello Baby! Look I want you*
197
198 Zimnandi ne, zi-rite dankie baby
199 *They are good, they are alright, thank you baby*
200

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Older Child
Location: Street Speaker: Under 5 To: Relative
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Younger Child
Location: Street Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Female To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Street Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Younger Child
Location: Street Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Female To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Relative
Location: Street Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Female To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Younger Child
Location: Street Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Female To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Older Child
Location: Street Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Shop To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Adult Topic: Crime Related
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Shop To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Adult Topic: Crime Related
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Money
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Shop To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu To: Female
Location: Shop
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Female
Speaker: Under 5
Supervision: Adult
Supervision: Female
To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Recorder
Location: Shop Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Language: Sotho Speaker: Adult
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Mix: Intersentential Switch To: Female
Language: Afrikaans Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Language: Zulu Mix: Intersentential Switch To: Female
Location: Shop Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Adult

201 Mele ngikunike malini mtwana? (SZ: mntwana)
202 *How much must I give you baby?*
203
204 Baba uyaphi
205 *Dad where are you going*
206
207 Awuyithintanga lento angithi
208 *You did not touch this thing, alright?*
209
210 mmmh!
211
212 Akekho oyithintile
213 *There is no one who touched it*
214
215 mmmh!
216
217 Ufuna ukuyohlala noSonto? (SZ: ukuyohlale)
218 *Do you want stay with Sonto?*
219
220 mmm
221
222 Ufuna ukuyohlala noSonto?
223 *Do want to go and stay with Sonto?*
224
225 Ngifun' ukuhla la lana
226 *I want to stay here there*
227
228 Sonto ngifun' ukuhlala nawe
229 *Sonto I wanna stay with you*
230
231 Ufun' ukuhlala nami?
232 *You want to stay with me?*
233
234 *Anti, anti wami ngifun' ukuhlala nawe*
235 *Auntie, my auntie I want to stay with you*
236
237 Hello, yebo
238 *Hello, yes*
239
240 Hello
241
242 Thina si...Nangu!
243 *Us we.. there he is*
244
245 Wena ungalibeli udraya
246 *Stop wasting your time running around*
247
248 Mama ngifun'ingiphe mama
249 *Mum I want you to give me mum*
250

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Shop To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Speaker: Adult Topic: Money
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Father
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Undertermined Register: Undetermined Speaker: Under 5 Supervision: Male To: Father
Location: Shop Speaker: Female Supervision: Adult To: Adult To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Language: Undertermined Register: Undetermined Speaker: Under 5 Supervision: Male To: Father Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop Speaker: Female Supervision: Adult To: Adult To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Undertermined Register: Undetermined Speaker: Under 5 Supervision: Male To: Father Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop Speaker: Female Supervision: Adult To: Adult To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Father
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Zulu Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Location: Shop Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Speaker: Female To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: Adult To: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult
Location: Shop Speaker: Female
Mix: Intrasentential Switch To: Adult
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Shop Speaker: Adult To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho To: Female
Register: Iscamtho To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting

251 Baba ngicela ungiphe
252 *Can you give me please papa*
253
254 Ngikutshelile...
255 *I told you*
256
257 Baba ngicela ungiphe
258 *Please give me papa*
259
260 Yini, yipende
261 *What is it, it's paint*
262
263 Mmm yipende leyo
264 *Ok it is paint this*
265
266 Sonto ngicela iswidi
267 *Can I have sweets Sonto*
268
269 Somlanda Saturday (SZ: ngoSaturday)
270 *Will collect him on Saturday*
271
272 Ngilambile Sonto
273 *I am hungry Sonto*
274
275 Ubonile umalume ufake lento? Ungayikhiphi ne?
276 *Did you see your uncle what he placed? Don t move it right?*
277
278 **UMaNtombis'** *margina* la akafuni kuthi ngimbambe
279 *Ntombi, imagine there she doesn't want me to carry her*
280
281 Baba ngilambile
282 *Dad I am hungry*
283
284 Kunephone la
285 *There is a phone here*
286
287 Mama ngilambile
288 *Mother I am hungry*
289
290 Yeh?
291
292 Ngilambile
293 *I am hungry*
294
295 Ubaba uzonenzela ukudla
296 *You father will make food for you*
297
298 Nangu laphaya. Nangu
299 *There he is. There*
300

Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Male To: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Street Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Undertermined Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Female To: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Adult Speaker: Mother To: Relative Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting

301 Yima uzodla
302 *Wait you will eat*
303
304 UNdumiso uyapenda yeh... ok
305 *Ndumiso is painting Ok*
306
307 Thatha khamisa.
308 *Take open your mouth*
309
310 Ngisadla i-atsharh
311 *I am still eating achaar*
312
313 Hayi Mpumelelo awume stel
314 *Please Mpumelelo just stand still*
315
316 mmm
317
318 *Why nigand' isikhwama?*
319 *Why do you step on the bag?*
320
321 mmm
322
323 *Why niganga ngesikhwama?*
324 *Why are you naughty with the bag?*
325
326 Haa man awusukume
327 *Ha man, just stand up*
328
329 Angithi nami ngiqhaqhile
330 *Even me I have undressed my hair*
331
332 Mmm...wozoqhaqha (SZ:wozoqhaqhe)
333 *Come and untie*
334
335 Phela mina ngiqhaqhile angithi
336 *I have just untied write*
337
338 Thata, ima. Ithi ngikhoke ka one
339 *Take, wait. Let me pay only one*
340
341 Yeh man awume, Ntombi awubize uNdumiso.La ngaphandle. Umtshele ukuthi awufuni ukuqhaqha.
342 *Hey man wait, Ntombi call Ndumiso. There outside. Tell him that you don't want to untie your hair*
343
344 Mmm
345
346 Awume stel man Nothathi
347 *Stand still man Nothathi*
348
349 Aih, aih
350

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop Speaker: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Relative
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 To: Older Child
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Shop Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Undertermined Register: Undetermined Speaker: Under 5 Supervision: Female To: Female Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop Speaker: Female Supervision: Adult To: Adult To: Mother
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Relative
Location: Shop Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
Mix: Transfer To: Female
Language: Undertermined Register: Undetermined Speaker: Under 5 Supervision: Female To: Female
Location: Shop Speaker: Female Supervision: Adult To: Adult To: Mother
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Location: Shop Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Transfer Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Undertermined Register: Undetermined Speaker: Under 5 Supervision: Female To: Female
Location: Shop Speaker: Female Supervision: Adult To: Adult To: Mother
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Shop Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Undertermined Register: Undetermined Speaker: Under 5 Supervision: Female To: Female Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop Speaker: Female Supervision: Adult To: Adult To: Mother

351 Ulimaza umtwanakithi, uyambona umtwana kithi manje
352 *You are hurting my little sister, you know now*
353
354 shii
355
356 Awuboni si-*bhizi* siyadla
357 *Don't you see we are busy eating?*
358
359 Sithata ama-atshar
360 *We are taking archers*
361
362 Why Nothando yo, **umaNtombisi** akafuni, *why* angathi ufun' iswidi? Ngicela ungiphe
363 *Nothando refuses, why can't he say he want some sweets. Can you give me (some)?*
364
365 Ima *man* eish Phumzi, yiphepha leli ungathi ngwaaa
366 *Stop Phumzi, it is just a paper this one*
367
368 Ususe nalento uyaphapha
369 *Remove that, you're full of yourself*
370
371 Awugiyisusanga ifoni yakamlungu le.Umlungu unefoni ezi-two. Ngizothi ngitrhengele eyami (case of hetero-
concordance. SZ: unezifoni ezi-two)
372 *You did not remove the white man' phone this one. He has two phones. I will ask him to by me one*
373
374 Nami yee
375 *Me too*
376
377 Awume *man* Ntombi
378 *Stop man Ntombi*
379
380 Mango!
381
382 Sonto angithi ngale emkhukhwini kune yogathi
383 *Sonto you know in the shack there is a yogurt?*
384
385 Mmm
386
387 Mmm angithi. Ngizodla ?
388 *Isn't it. Am I going to eat*
389
390 Awutholi ini baba?
391 *What is it that you can't find papa?*
392
393 *Ibrash* *madarling*
394 *The brush my darling*
395
396 *Ibrash*
397 *The brush*
398
399 *why* ungalethanga lekoti, bengazi

Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Undertermined Register: Undetermined Speaker: Under 5 Supervision: Female
Location: Shop Speaker: Female Supervision: Adult To: Speaking alone
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop Speaker: Female To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Mix: Transfer Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Shop Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop Speaker: Mother Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Mother
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Speaker: Female To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Older Child
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Female To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Shop Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Undertermined Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Under 5 Supervision: Female To: Female
Location: Shop Speaker: Female Supervision: Adult To: Adult Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Adult Speaker: Mother To: Relative Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop Speaker: Female To: Female To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Father
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Shop Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female

400 Why didn't you bring that cotton, I didn't know
401
402 Yi leye
403 It is that one
404
405 Waqhina nini ukungithandazela mfanawami?mmm (mfana used for the daughter)
406 When was the last time you prayed for me my boy?mmm
407
408 Mmmm
409
410 Waqhina nini ukungithandazela ...mmm?
411 When did you last pray for me mmm
412
413 Mama futhi ubabami makaceda uyapenda, futhi kamampela angilithathanga iswidi
414 Mum also my dad when he finishes he is (will be) painting, and it is true I did not take the sweets
415
416 Aah unamanga
417 You are lying
418
419 Uthi ubani onamanga?
420 Who is lying?
421
422 Wena
423 You
424
425 Sontody ngicela ukuthatha
426 Sontoy can I please take (some)?
427
428 Hayi wena awume
429 Just wait please
430
431 Athi uf'n' iswidi
432 She want sweets
433
434 Iswidi lani? Ho, odl' iswidi nje ngizomopey'ta
435 A sweet for what? Ho, the one who eats a sweet I will just give her a laxative
436
437 Awugeke sisakucela
438 We are not going to ask you
439
440 Sonto ng'chine lana
441 Sonto I'm done here
442
443 Aah awume
444 Wait
445
446 USonto angeke ngimuph' ibholo
447 I won't give Sonto the ball
448
449 Ten cent

Location: Shop Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Mix: Transfer Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Undertermined Register: Undetermined Speaker: Under 5 Supervision: Female To: Adult To: Male
Location: Shop Speaker: Female Supervision: Adult Supervision: Male To: Father Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Supervision: Adult To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Female To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop Speaker: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Younger Child
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Female

450
451 Bekucono ku-ten cent
452 *It was better than ten cent*
453
454 Hayi asikho
455 *There are not here*
456
457 Ngifake kuphi, kuphi Sonto?
458 *Where must I put it Sonto?*
459
460 Ngilay'tise ngizoyileha i-ten cent
461 *I should light up, I will bring you ten cent*
462
463 Kuphi Sonto? Ngifake kuphi Sonto?
464 *Where must I put it Sonto?*
465
466 La phansi
467 *There on the floor*
468
469 Usho la Sonto
470 *Are you saying here Sonto*
471
472 Yeh?
473 *What?*
474
475 Halala mfana
476 *Ho la la my boy*
477
478 Ohray't Sonto
479 Alright Sonto
480
481 Sharp!
482 OK!
483
484 Alala, alala, mina, yimi umama
485 *They sleep, they sleep, me, it's me the mother*
486
487 (singing) Owami lo, owaizolo
488 *Its mine this one, it is yesterdays*
489
490 Ngiyalala, nawumcamelo
491 *I am sleeping, here is the pillow*
492
493 Uyangilimaza
494 *You hurt me*
495
496 Yeh man awuyekele ukukhala
497 *Hey man stop crying*
498
499 Ulimaza umtwana kithi

(mfana used for the daughter)

Location: Shop Speaker: Adult To: Adult Topic: Money
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Money
Location: Shop Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Shop To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Money
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Language: English Speaker: Adult
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Female
Location: Shop To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Role playing
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Speaking alone
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult Topic: Role playing
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Shop Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult

500 *You are hurting my little sister*
501
502 Ndumiso ngicel' ukubheka, Ntombi
503 *Ndumiso can I please take as look , Ntombi*
504
505 Ha ne, **maNtombis'** hambuyo qhaqhqa Ntombi
506 *He is it, MaNtombis go and do your hair Ntombi*
507
508 Yah ngiyaqhaqha
509 *Yes I am busy with my hair*
510
511 Yes ngiyaqhaqha
512 *Yes, undressing my hairs*
513
514 Angithi Sonto sewucedile
515 *Look Sonto are you done?*
516
517 Mm, sakacedile
518 *She's finished*
519
520 Mmm, selekancane
521 *Mmm, just about finishing*
522
523 Ngicela ungithengele iswidi
524 *Can you please buy me some sweets*
525
526 Yini?
527 *What*
528
529 'gicela ungithengel' iswidi
530 *Can you please bye me some sweets*
531
532 Yeh?
533 *What?*
534
535 'gicela ungithengel' iswidi
536 *Can you bye me some sweets*
537
538 Umamakho athi ngakuthengeli
539 *You mother says I musn't buy for you*
540
541 Wozothatha. *What's up?* Yi-swidi.
542 *Come and take. What's up? It's a sweet*
543
544 Yini leyo?
545 *What is this?*
546
547 Yiswidi
548 *It is sweets*
549

Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Older Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Female To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Shop To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Speaker: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Shop To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Female
Language: Undertermined To: Female
Location: Shop To: Younger Child
Speaker: Adult
Speaker: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Shop To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Speaker: Adult
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 To: Younger Child
Mix: Intersentential Switch Supervision: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Older Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male

550 Woza, woza, thatha
551 *Come, come, thatha*
552
553 Umtwana kini, ye
554 *It is your sister*
555
556 Unamanga
557 *You are lying*
558
559 Uyakuphi ye ya la?
560 *Where are you going to?*
561
562 Uzokukhahlela ubaba wami
563 *My father will kick you*
564
565 Ubabami unga, ungalena
566 *My father he is, he's that side*
567
568 Unamanga
569 *You are lying*
570
571 Letha leloswidi. Letha leloswidi
572 *Bring that sweet*
573
574 Angifuni
575 *I don't want to*
576
577 Ubani lohamba naye? letha lelo swidi
578 *Who are you with? Give me that sweets*
579
580 Angifuni hayi
581 *No I don't want to*
582
583 Ya ncane wena
584 *Yeah slow down you*
585
586 Woza Ntombi
587 *Come Ntombi*
588
589 Sanibonani
590 *Greetings (pl. addresses)*
591
592 Ukuphi **MaNtombisi**?
593 *Where are you Ntombi?*
594
595 Thenga amakikip
596 *Buy some maelie pop*
597
598 Ha mama, izolo wangilibalisa
599 *Ha mama, yesterday you fooled me*

(mealie: Afr. and SAEng. for maize)

Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 5-6 Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Child same age
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Child same age
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Child same age
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Child same age
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Younger Child
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Older Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Relative
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Younger Child
Location: Street Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Female To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Relative
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Female To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Shop To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Elderly
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Street Supervision: Adult To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Elderly
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Shop To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female

600
601 Ha wena angikubalisanga, undina kabi, uzongizela nge
602 *Ha you I did not make a fool out of you, you have me badly (you don,t like me), you will make me go with...*
603
604 *Ok right* ithi ngiyenze ke, sisi ngicela siyiqede yonke
605 *Ok right then I must, sister let me finish this at once*
606
607 Ngicela ungiphe Sdudu amakikip
608 *Can I have please the mealie pop please Sdudu*
609
610 Athi uSonto umyenzele ukudla. Athi Sonto umyenzele ukudla
611 *Sonto said you should make food for her. She said Sonto you should make food for her.*
612
613 Yeh?
614 *What?*
615
616 Athi uSonto ungenzele ukudla
617 *Sonto says that make food for us*
618
619 Uyaphi? Ngimyenzele ukudla, ngizomyenzela, hambogeza (SZ: hambogeze)
620 *Where are you going? I made her food, I will prepare for her, go and wash)your hands)*
621
622 uSonto athi uzokwenzela, uzokwenzela
623 *Sonto said she will do it for you, she will do it for you*
624
625 Yeh?
626 *What?*
627
628 Uzokwenzela ukudla
629 *She will prepare food for you*
630
631 Msthele ukuthi ngilambile manje
632 *Tell her that I am hungry now*
633
634 Uyaphile ngoba bazoyithatha lephone
635 *You feel good because we will take the phone*
636
637 (praying)
638
639 Amen mtwanami
640 *Amen my child*
641
642 Sonto ngicel' i-cold drink
643 *Sonto Can I please have a drink*
644
645 Ucel' i-cold drink, inhle kakhulu mtwnami lento ngicela yona
646 *You ask for a cold drink, very good my chid the thing I am asking for*
647
648 Sonto ngicel' i-cold drink
649 *Sonto please can I have a drink sandy*

Speaker: Elderly
Language: Bantu Other Mix: Intrasentential Switch To: Elderly
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Location: Shop Speaker: Adult
Mix: Intersentential Switch Speaker: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Elderly
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 Supervision: Male
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Elderly
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Elderly To: Male
Speaker: Female Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Father
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Father
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Father
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Father
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Supervision: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Female
Mix: Insert English To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Speaker: Adult Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Speaker: Mother
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Shop Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Bantu Other Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Shop Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother

650
651 Hambocela kuNdumiso (SZ: hambocele)
652 *Go and ask Ndumiso*
653
654 Ngiyabonga lav'
655 *Thank you love*
656
657 Amen, amen babakho
658 *Amen, daddy (lit.: father of mine)*
659
660 Uthenga i-one kuphi
661 *Where do you buy one?*
662
663 Alale s'koto, alale 'skoto alale
664 *Sleep, we're comfortable, sleep we're comfortable*
665
666 Sonto ngizovela etivini?
667 *Sonto I will appear on TV?*
668
669 Chief Tupac!
670
671 Thina siphuma etivini. Sonto bheka
672 *Us we appear on tv. Sonto look*
673
674 Kabulabulawo ka bo baba, kwabulabulayo ba bua. *Or* kanjani?
675 *(non meaningful), they talk at kwabulabulayo. Or how? (playful baby talk from adult male)*
676
677 Yah
678 *Yeah*
679
680 Ngicela ukudlala nawe?
681 *Please can you play with me?*
682
683 Ufuna ukudlala nami ?
684 *You want to play with me?*
685
686 Yes!
687
688 Ufuna ukudlala nami?
689 *You want to play with me*
690
691 Yes!
692
693 Nana
694 *Teddy Bear (lit.: baby)*
695
696 Yes, ... uyasha yeh. Uyakuthusa, ku-raf' kakhulu ?
697 *Yes, ... you are burning. He is scary, it is very rough?*
698
699 Angilahli unana wami

Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Father
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Male
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Father
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Speaking alone
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Supervision: Adult To: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: Female To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult Topic: Recorder
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Under 5 Supervision: Female To: Speaking alone
Location: Shop Speaker: Female Supervision: Adult Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Recorder
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Shop To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Adult To: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Mother To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Female To: Relative
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Adult To: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Speaking alone
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult

700 *I don't throw away my teddy bear*
701
702 U-raf' kakhulu unana wakho
703 *Your teddy bear is very rough*
704
705 Ngiyifila manje lento
706 *I feel it now this thing*
707
708 Ngiyekele
709 *Leave me (alone)*
710
711 Ya angithi ngikubuza
712 *Yeah I was asking you isn't it*
713
714 Unana wami
715 *It's my teddy bear*
716
717 Awubambelele mpintshi yami
718 *Hold on my friend*
719
720 Sonto ngicela i-cold drink
721 *Sonto please can I have a cold drink*
722
723 Sonto ngicel' i-juice
724 *Sonto please can I have juice*
725
726 Ngicel' i-juice
727 *Can I please have a juice*
728
729 Sonto ngicel' i-juice, bheka
730 *Sonto can I have a juice, look*
731
732 Baba
733 *Father*
734
735 Yeh?
736 *What?*
737
738 Athi uSonto ungiph' i-thishu
739 *Sonto said you must give me toilet paper*
740
741 Thatha Sonto
742 *Take Sonto*
743
744 Lomtwana mfunani upheth' ama-erial
745 *This child you are looking for carried aerial TV antennas*
746
747 Mmm?
748
749 Ubaba wenzani?

Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Shop Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Shop To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Speaker: Adult Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Shop Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult
Location: Shop Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho To: Female
Register: Iscamtho To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Father
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: Shop Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Undertermined Register: Undetermined Speaker: Under 5 Supervision: Female To: Adult To: Mother
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female Supervision: Adult Supervision: Male To: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting

750 What is dad doing?
751
752 Mmm?
753
754 Ubaba wenzani?
755 Whats dad doing?
756
757 Uyapenda
758 He is painting
759
760 Yeh?
761
762 Uyapenda
763 He is painting
764
765 Wozohlala la, wozohlala lana Ntombi
766 Come and sit here, come and sit here Ntombi
767
768 Ufun' ukuyaphi mangihlala la
769 You want to go where as you want me to sit here
770
771 Akuna-niks
772 There is nothing
773
774 Uyaphi, ngizothi mama
775 Where are you going, I will tell you mama
776
777 Mama uSonto opendayo. Mmm
778 Mother, it's Sonto that's doing the painting, mmm
779
780 USonto opendayo. Wenzani Sonto, ye baba?
781 Its Sonto who' painting. What are you doing Sonto? Yes dad?
782
783 Wenzukudla
784 She is making food
785
786 Wenzukudla ok
787 Sh'es making food
788
789 Uzothengisa
790 Are you going to sell?
791
792 Yes!
793
794 Uyakwazi ukuthengisa?
795 Do you know how to sell
796
797 Yinyama
798 It's meat
799

(SZ: wozohlale)

Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Language: Undertermined Register: Undetermined Speaker: Under 5 Supervision: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female Supervision: Adult Supervision: Male To: Mother
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Undertermined Location: Shop Speaker: Female To: Female To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Speaker: Mother To: Relative Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Relative
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult To: Mother
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Father Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Female
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Under 5 Supervision: Female To: Adult To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female Supervision: Adult Supervision: Male To: Father Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative

800 Wena awiyidli
801 *You don't eat it*
802
803 Nokudla emlomeni
804 *And food in my mouth*
805
806 Mama nayi i-chocolate, mama. Sweet, ah mama why nami ungangiyenzeli?
807 *Mum, there is a chocolate mum. Sweets, ha mama with me why don't you give me*
808
809 Yini?
810 *What?*
811
812 Ungangifakeli inyama
813 *Don't put meat for me*
814
815 Mmm
816
817 Mmm ngifuna lenyama
818 *I want this meat*
819
820 Sonto ngivulele
821 *Open for me Sonto*
822
823 *Man ayekele, awuyekungiphaphela, hamba uyovulela uNtombi*
824 *Man go, before you make noise, and open for Ntombi*
825
826 Sonto ngivulele, akonke sho ngivulele
827 *Sonto, open for me, I say again open for me*
828
829 Ngiphethe amanye ama-flavor
830 *I have more flavors*
831
832 Ngivulele, ngivulele Sonto, ngicel'ungivulele
833 *Open for me, orpen for me Sonto, please open for me*
834
835 Yeh...?
836 *What?*
837
838 Sonto ngivulelele
839 *Open for me Sonto*
840
841 Ahh wenzani
842 *Ha what are you doing?*
843
844 Mama ngicela ungivulele, ngicel' ungivulele. Ungivulele!
845 *Please mum open for me, please open for me. Open for me!*
846
847 Asikuvuleli niks, asikuvuleli
848 *We are never going to open for you*
849

Language: Zulu Speaker: Father Topic: Parenting
Location: Backroom To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Relative
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Speaker: Adult Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Mix: Transfer Supervision: Adult To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Adult Speaker: Mother To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Backroom Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Location: Backroom To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Elderly To: Relative
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Grand Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female

850 Asimvuleli gogo
851 *We are not opening for her granny*
852
853 Drason uyabona uyacolisa (SZ: -ngcolisa)
854 *Drason can't you see you making dirty*
855
856 Ngakuzwa kanjani uthengi mabuli ubekis' isandla emlomeni
857 *How do I hear you when you placed your hand on your mouth*
858
859 Baba
860 *Father*
861
862 Suka baby girl
863 *Move away baby girl*
864
865 Ayabanda lawa, ne Sonto?
866 *These are all cold, isn't it Sonto*
867
868 Yah wafake phansi usenzel' ukudla
869 *Yes put them down then make food for us*
870
871 Baba athi uSonto usenzel' ukudla
872 *Dad, Sonto said you make food for us*
873
874 Hayi mtshela ngiyapenda
875 *No tell her that I am painting*
876
877 Sonto athi uyapenda
878 *Sonto papa said he is painting*
879
880 Hayi ngizokufaka impama
881 *Hey I will slap you*
882
883 Hayi ngifun' ukudla
884 *No I want to eat*
885
886 Ima ngizonenzela, hambani niyodlala
887 *Wait I will give you foodm, go and play (pl.)*
888
889 Angifuni. Sonto angifuni
890 *I don't want to. Sonto I don't want to*
891
892 Ngiyacela Sonto ukudla
893 *Please Sonto I ask for food*
894
895 Ah, angifuni. Asifuni angithi wena uzosiyenzela
896 *Ha, I don't want. We don't want, you said you gonna do for us*
897
898 Wena sicelel' usenzele wena, wena senzele, thina asifuni, senzele wena
899 *You Please give us food you, you must give us food, us we don't want, you should give us*

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Relative
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Elderly
Speaker: Adult To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Relative
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Younger Child
Speaker: Adult Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Backroom Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father Topic: Parenting
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Speaker: Adult To: Father
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother

900
901 Mmm .. hlika lena *man* eish
902 *Mm... go away man*
903
904 aah mama?
905 *Haa mum?*
906
907 Ah *man* Phindi awume, yazi angeke ngisanenzela
908 *Ha man Phindi wait, I am not going to give you food*
909
910 Aah, ngikhoth' isandla sakho
911 *Haa, I am licking your hand*
912
913 Mmm suka lapho uyasha
914 *Move from there you will get burnt (lit.: you are burning)*
915
916 *Mos* mina ngikhoth' isandla sakho, angifak' isandla, ngikhoth' isandal sakho
917 *Anyway I just licked your hand, I did not put my hand, I licked your hand*
918
919 Ma ngicel' ukudla
920 *Mum I need food*
921
922 Awume senzonzela ukudla
923 *Wait I will give you food*
924
925 Hambani nithi 'Ndumiso anenzele ukludla
926 *Go and tell nhlanhla to make food for you*
927
928 Aah uthi usapenda
929 *He says he is still painting*
930
931 Nimtshele ukuthi nilambile
932 *Tell (pl.) him that you are hungry*
933
934 Aah uthe usapenda
935 *He said he is still paiting*
936
937 Nimtshele ukuthi nilambile
938 *Tell him that you are hungry*
939
940 Yoh, angithi wena uzosenzela. Mina angifuni, senzele wena, mina angifuni
941 *Wow, look you, you said you will give us food. Me I don't want to, give us, me I don't want to*
942
943 Baze nalawa, nalawa, abazanga nawo lena lawa phezulu, abazanga nawolena lawa phezulu abazanga nawo
944 *they came with these ones, and these ones, they did not come with those above, they didnt come with those, these above, they didn't come with them.*
945
946 Lawa baba wabeke la
947 *These ones dad put them here*
948

Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Location: Backroom Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Language: Zulu Supervision: Adult To: Male
Location: Backroom Supervision: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Female To: Adult
Speaker: Under 5 To: Father
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative

949 Ima ngizonenzela niyezwa
950 *Wait I will do for you (pl.), I heard you (pl.)*
951
952 Ngicela ungiphe incwadi Sonto lena
953 *Please can you give that book Sonto this one*
954
955 Mm .. iyasebenza
956 *It is working*
957
958 Ngisho lena encani
959 *I said this small one*
960
961 Ngisho yona
962 *I am talking about that*
963
964 Ngicel' ungiphe lena
965 *Please can you give me this one*
966
967 Ufana ngibize uNdumiso
968 *Do you want me to call Ndumiso*
969
970
971

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Mother
Speaker: Female Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu
Location: Backroom
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Adult
Speaker: Female
Speaker: Mother
To: Female
To: Relative
To: Younger Child
Topic: Parenting

Recording 4

Recording 4

001
002
003 Oshintshayo ngizomutshela ubaba... Nishinsheni la bawaqokile. Hlalani phantsi. Mama makangifonela la
ngizomuphendula la. Eish iphi i-*phone* yami? Yo, iyakhala i-*phone* yami.
004 *The one who changes I will tell my dad... They change this one, they are wearing them. Sit down (pl.). Mum if he*
phones me here I will answer here. Eish where is my phone? Yo it's ringing my phone.
005
006 Yahi ayathengwa lawo manzi ase-*next door*? Ningadlali ngamanzi.
007 *No, isn't this water bought from next door? Don't (pl.) play with water*
008
009 Anebhadi mama? Seyahamba thina siya eMaponya.Sehamba nini?
010 *They're having bad luck mum? We are going us, we are going to Maponya. When are we going?*
011
012 Uya-ayina? U-ayinela umtwana? (SZ: *umntwana*)
013 *You're ironing? Are you ironing for the baby (lit.: the child)?*
014
015 Ngicela *ispun* mama, ngicela *ispun*. (SZ: *isipunu*)
016 *Mom can I please have a spoon, a spoon please.*
017
018 Uthe ufuna *ispun*
019 *She said she wants a spoon*
020
021 Ubani lo?
022 *Who is this?*
023
024 Suka suka!
025 *Move, move!*
026
027 Letha, leth' isitja. Mama kuray't?
028 *Bring, bring the dish. Mama is it right?*
029
030 Sengizodlala ngespam sakababam'
031 *I will play with my father's gun.*
032
033 Ya, uyezwa ma, lesi esam', ngizo hamba naso, mama mina lesiya.
034 *Yes, do you hear mum, this is mine, I will go with it, mama me this one.*
035
036 Ngiyabheka siku-12. Mina angisafuni, ngisuthi, sekuwa-12 namhlanje.
037 *I'm looking it is 12. Me I don't want any more, I'm full, it is the 12th today.*
038
039 Halo gogo, kunjani? Mina ngiyaphila. Wena ukuphi? OK. Mina ngisharp.
040 *Hi granny, how are you? Me I'm fine. Where are you? OK. Me I'm good.*
041
042 Yo yini, yini? Woza la, woza la wena, uyiyenzani?
043 *Ho What is it, what is it? Come here, come here you, what did you do to it?*
044
045 I-ray't, iya-lay'ta, iya-lay'ta i-*phone*, izo-lay'ta
046 *It's alright, it's making light, it's lighting on the phone, it will make light*
047
048 Phindi!

- Language: Zulu Supervision: Female
- Location: Yard To: Adult
- Mix: Insert English To: Female
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Mother
- Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
- Speaker: Under 5
- Supervision: Adult
- Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
- Location: Yard Speaker: Mother
- Mix: Insert English To: Female
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
- Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
- Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Mother
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
- Speaker: Female To: Adult
- Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Female
- Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Mother
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
- Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Adult
- Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
- Location: House Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
- Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
- Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Adult
- Location: House Speaker: Male To: Female
- Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
- Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
- Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Mother
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
- Speaker: Female To: Adult
- Language: Zulu Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
- Location: House To: Female
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Relative
- Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
- Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
- Location: House Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
- Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
- Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Female
- Location: House Speaker: Male To: Mother
- Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: Adult Topic: Role playing
- Register: Iscamtho Supervision: Female
- Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
- Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Mother
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
- Speaker: Female To: Adult
- Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Mother
- Location: House Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
- Speaker: Female To: Female
- Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Recorder
- Location: House Supervision: Adult Topic: Role playing
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
- Speaker: Female To: Speaking alone
- Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
- Location: Yard Supervision: Older Child Topic: Recorder
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
- Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
- Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Older Child
- Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Recorder
- Mix: Insert English Supervision: Older Child
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
- Language: Undertermined Register: Undetermined Speaker: Under 5 To: Older Child

049
050 Ubani?
051 *Who is it?*
052
053 Umtwana kini. I-ya-lay'ta, bheka, bheka Phindi.
054 *It's your little sister. It's making light, look Phindi*
055
056 Letha ngibheke. *Why uthi ayi-lay'ti, iya-lay'ta?*
057 *Bring it so I take a look. Why do you say it doesn't light on, it lights on.*
058
059 Ekababakhe i-phone ayi-lay'ti
060 *Her father's phone doesn't light.*
061
062 Yo yo yo, bheka Phindi, ayisalay'ti, yo seyiya-lay'ta.
063 *Ho, look Phindi, it doesn't light on, ho it lights on.*
064
065 Yekela ukuyipresa nawe.
066 *Quit pressing it and you.*
067
068 Yo izocina ingasalay'ti.
069 *Yo it will switch off and it won't make light any more.*
070
071 Ubani, ubani, ubani Phindi, ubani?
072 *Who is it, who is it, who is it Phindi, who is it?*
073
074 UZandile wakithi.
075 *It's Zandile from my place.*
076
077 Ucela i-ayin' ne-aying board
078 *You ask for an iron and an ironing board*
079
080 Uzowa lomtwana: 'nimyenze rong'. uzowa lomtwana 'nimayine-rong' end' 'bheka use uyizayinele rong, umtwana'.
081 *You'll hear this kid: 'you (pl.) did it wrong'. You will hear this kid: 'you ironed it wrong' and look you ironed it wrong for yourself, you are child'*
082
083 Ye'gani loyomtwana, ningamkhumuli Ntombi
084 *Leave that baby, don't undress Ntombi*
085
086 Bheka ayinele rong, mina ngizobamba '-ayine angithi.
087 *Look they ironed wrong, I will hold the iron, alright?*
088
089 Uyitholile i-phone yakho?
090 *Did you find your phone?*
091
092 Phindi bheka, sokusiyikhuthi sokatala, uyabona etlist sokuyisikhathi sokulala.
093 *Phindi you see it's time for bed, you see at last it's time for bed.*
094
095 Ubani, ubani lo? Mina ngizothi umama, uyazi bahlala bathini?
096 *Who is this? Me I will tell mum, do you know what they keep saying?*
097

Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
Location: Yard Supervision: Older Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Older Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Older Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Older Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Older Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Older Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Older Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Older Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Older Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Older Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Older Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 Supervision: Older Child
Location: Street Supervision: Older Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Female To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Supervision: Older Child
Location: Street To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: House Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Mother
Location: House Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Speaker: Female To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Mother
Location: House To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: House Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: House Speaker: Under 5 To: Older Child
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: House Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female

098 Yayi, yima, yima!
099 *Stop it, stop it, stop it!*
100
101 Asambeni uRosanne uyalala.
102 *Let's go, Rosanne is sleeping*
103
104 Mama ngicela i-jus', mama ngicela i-bhanana. (SZ: ijuzi)
105 *Mum Can I have juice, mum banana please.*
106
107 Ngicela ungiphagele kahle, iyawa, yo!
108 *Please serve it nice for me, it's falling, ho!*
109
110 Uzone-plate ane?
111 *Come with (lit.: you will have) a plate, ok?*
112
113 Uyivale kahle, i-bhizi, i-bhizi. Iyawa ithi a Lindi
114 *Close it proper, it's busy, it's busy. It's falling it says ha Lindi.*
115
116 Nifun' ukuyodlala?
117 *You want to go and play?*
118
119 Ya baba, la ema-10.
120 *Yes dad, there by the 10s (by the neighbourhood of house with numbers starting with 10).*
121
122 Kwi
123
124 Yawa!
125
126 Kwi!
127
128 Yawa!
129
130 Asambeni manje, siyolobola (SZ: -lobola 'pay bride or childe prize')
131 *Let's go now, we will pay lobola* (SAEng: lobola 'bride price')
132
133 Niyoyenzani?
134 *What will you do?*
135
136 Siyolobola
137 *We will pay lobola*
138
139 Niyolobola '-bani?
140 *Who wil you pay lobola for?*
141
142 uNthathi
143 *Nthathi*
144
145 Kanjani?
146 *How?*
147

Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Older Child
Location: House Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Female To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: House Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: House Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Location: House To: Female
Mix: Insert English To: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Supervision: Male
Location: House Speaker: Under 5 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Older Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Recorder
Language: Zulu To: Female
Location: House To: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Speaker: Father Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: House Speaker: Under 5 To: Father
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Undertermined
Location: Street
Register: Undetermined
Speaker: Female
Speaker: Under 5
To: Female
To: Older Child
Topic: Role playing
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Older Child
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Role playing
Speaker: Female To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Role playing
Speaker: Age 5-6 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Older Child
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Role playing
Speaker: Female To: Female
Language: Zulu To: Female
Location: Yard To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Father Topic: Role playing
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Father
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Female To: Adult Topic: Role playing
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female Topic: Role playing
Speaker: Adult To: Relative

148 Soyothatha i-*phone* yakhe semlobole .Ngihamba nayo i-*phone* an'ithi, an'ithi baba.
149 *We will take her phone and pay lobola for her. I'm leaving with it the phone, alright, alright dad?*
150
151 Halo halo mina ngizophendula i-*phone*
152 *Allo allo, I will answer the phone*
153
154 Ikuphi i-*phone* baba? Ngifuna i-*phone* yami baba.
155 *Where is the phone dad? I want my phone dad.*
156
157 Yo zilahlekile!
158 *Ho they're lost!*
159
160 Yini?
161 *What?*
162
163 Iimali zethu zilahlekile
164 *Our money is lost.*
165
166 Unamanga azilahlekhana
167 *You're lying, they did not get lost*
168
169 Yo ne-*phone*.
170 *Yo the phone too.*
171
172 Ungifonele, ungifonele
173 *You must call me*
174
175 Ya ngizokufonela, tididing, tididing.
176 *Yeah I'm going to phone you, tididing tididing* (onomatopeia for the phone ring)
177
178
179
180
181
182
183
184

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult Topic: Recorder
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5 To: Father Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult Topic: Recorder
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5 To: Father
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult Topic: Money
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Yo zilahlekile!
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Older Child
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Female To: Female
Language: Innovation Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female CI9/cl10
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child CI9/Cl10 prob
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult Topic: Money Iimali zethu zilahlekile
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Older Child
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult Topic: Money
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Female To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Older Child
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Female To: Female
Language: Zulu
Location: Yard
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Female
Supervision: Adult
Supervision: Male
To: Female
To: Younger Child
Topic: Recorder

001 Recording 5

002
003 Bathi masikhuluma mele sikhulume isiTsotsi
004 *They say when speak we must speak Tsotsi*

005
006 Yini?
007 *What is it?*

008
009 Bathi sikhulume is'tsotsi. He mfethu asivayeni
010 *They say we must speak tsotsi. Hey bro let's go*

011
012 **Zwakala yih** (Afr. hier)
013 *Come here*

014
015 Ngiyeza mfethu
016 *I'm coming bro*

017
018 **Zwakala yih**
019
020 Ngiyeza, wat gaan aan mfethu? Awungigaye idzendi (SZ -gaya: 'grind, crush')
021 *I'm coming, what's going on bro? Give me a sweet*

022
023 Asivaye, siyobaya amadzendi
024 *Let's go, we will buy sweets*

025
026 Nginepondo
027 *I have two rands*

028
029 Ngineshumi
030 *I have one rand*

031
032 Ha mfethu tokha tokha
033 *ha bro talk talk!*

034
035 Asidzwayeni siyokha amapentshisi
036 *Lets us go and pick peaches*

037
038 Ungazosijwayela, ungayitshuni daiding
039 *Don't come with shit, don't do that thing*

040
041 Asidwayeni, siyokha amapentshisi
042 *Let's go, we will pick peaches*

043
044 As'dzwayeni, siyatzwaya nou-nou, as'dzwayeni
045 *Let's go, we're going now-now, let's go*

046
047 As'dswayeni siyokha akaWontshiwontshi
048 *Let's go pick (them) from Wontshiwontshi*

049

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female

Language: Zulu Mix: Insert Iscamtho Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Female Topic: Role playing
Location: Street Register: Iscamtho Speaker: Female To: Child same age Topic: Recorder

Language: Afrikaans Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Role playing

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Money
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Money
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age Topic: Role playing

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Role playing

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age

050 Ha mfethu uyiyenzani leyo **vati**, uyifake kahle leyo **vati**.
051 *Ha bro what are you doing to that thing, put it on nicely that thing*
052
053 Ngine**pondo**
054 *I have two rands*
055
056 Ungayit**shuni daiding**, awuthi ngibuze abosisterh, he sesterh '-yawakha amapentshisi?
057 *Don't do that thing, let me ask the sisters, hey sister are you picking peaches?*
058
059 Amapentshisi
060 *Peaches*
061
062 *We trying to get* , yo amapentshisi khona thina sikguda igazi, sizocama igazi
063 *We're trying to get, yo peaches so that us we shit blood, we will pee blood*
064
065 Asivayeni siyofun' abot**sheri**
066 *Let's go and look for girls*
067
068 He mfethu mina ngiyak'**can'wa** (ngiyakucanywa)
069 *He bro I want you*
070
071 Koko gogo ukhona uMamnomonde
072 *Knock knock gogo, is Mamnomonde here.*
073
074 Ubani uMamnomonde? Akekho uye emolini
075 *Who's Mamnomonde? She's not here, she went to the mall*
076
077 Kushubele baba biza **abokgata**, siyakuNomsa ne?
078 *It's bad man, call the police, we're going Nomsa's?*
079
080 *(singing):* Kushubele baba biz' amak**gata**.(...)
081
082 uNtombi akagezanga
083 *Ntombi too didn't wash herself*
084
085 Sizozoka ini? Asambe siyobuza umamami. Mari ufun'ichange
086 *What are we going to wear? Let's go and ask my mum. But he wants change*
087
088 Uzibonile impahla zikaSifiso, nina banithengele impahla zakusasa, ezika Sibusiso zintle kanjani
089 *Did you see Sifiso's cloths, did they buy you cloths for tomorrow, Sibusiso's are nice.*
090
091 uSibusiso lona osidudla
092 *Sibusiso the one who's fat.*
093
094 Mabathi umuntu ukhatele basho mina
095 *When they say someone is tired they mean me*
096
097 Masesuka sizoya eDurban
098 *When we leave we'll go to Durban*
099

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Money
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age Topic: Role playing
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: English Mix: Intrasentential Switch Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Language: Zulu Register: Vulgar To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None Topic: Role playing
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Female Supervision: Female To: Male
Location: House Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Elderly To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Young Teenager
Location: House Supervision: Elderly
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho Supervision: Female
Location: Yard Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: Elderly
Language: Zulu Mix: Insert Iscamtho Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Female
Location: Street Register: Iscamtho Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Female Topic: Money
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female

100 Nizoya eDurban imimengo beniyidlaza
101 *You will go to Durban, mango were you eating it?*
102
103 Ya beyihlaza
104 *Yeah, it was not yet riped*
105
106 Ningithatha njengepipi ne?
107 *You take me for a penis, right?*
108
109 Usho kanjani?
110 *Why are you saying so (lit.: how are you saying?)*
111
112 Ya ningithatha njengepipi
113 *Yeah you take me for a penis*
114
115 Bazokutshika ne?
116 *They will shout you out, isn't it?*
117
118 Bazomtshekaleni mfethu, maybe bazoyilanda môre. KaMakhenzi
119 *Why will they shout her out man, maybe they will fetch it tomorrow. At McKenzie's*
120
121 Uyothenga '-khota amangaphi
122 *How many khotas are you going to buy*
123
124 Bathi sikhulume, bazoyilanda môre
125 *They say we talk, they will fetch it tomorrow*
126
127 EMafikeng bayadlala emini, ebusuku bayalala, abawashayi amacricket
128 *In Mafikeng they play during the day, in the evening they sleep, they don't light crickets (firecrackers, in general)*
129
130 KabuKufika last year kabuKufika amabom
131 *At Kwetho's place last year at Kwetho's place the bombs! (a specific kind of firecrackers)*
132
133 Bewangadluli kowoba-Ayize
134 *They were not that much compared to Ayize's*
135
136 Bewengaka, bathenga all types of cricket. Batheng'amacrickets athi amaten.
137 *They were so big, buying all types of crickets. They buy crickets with ten sorts*
138
139 NeStar lighter?
140 *Also a Star lighter?*
141
142 Mina ngiyasisaba iStar Light (-si- indicates class 7)
143 *Me I'm afraid of the Star light*
144
145 Kithi last year uSunny uye wathengela aboMpumelelo kuphela, mina ubabawami wangiyyisa ngake kithi ema-4
sawashaya khona
146 *At my place last year Sunny bought for Mpumelelo only, my father took me to my place by the 4's (houses with house
numbers starting by 4) and we light them there.*
147

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Firecrackers
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Firecrackers
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: English Mix: Intrasentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Female Topic: Firecrackers
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Firecrackers
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Firecrackers
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu To: Child same age
Location: Street To: Female
Mix: Insert English
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Female
Supervision: None

148 Amacricket lawa bawa ashaya phantsi awalimazani ngiyawathanda
149 *The crickets these ones hit them on the floor they don't hurt anyone, I love them*
150
151 Nami ngiyawathanda
152 *Me too I love them*
153
154 Mina ngicazwa ethi raaraa...
155 *Me I'm fascinated by this one that goes raaraaa*
156
157 *They tell us about, seyayazi leloyondaba*
158 *They tell us about, we know that story*
159
160 Bheka njani
161 *Look how it is*
162
163 Uthenga iscambani (iscambani 'khota sandwich', Pretoria word)
164 *You're buying a kota?*
165
166 Two kotas no achhaar. Mpilo, you remember, athi uzosipha... (shop tenants are from Ethiopia,
hence the use of English)
167 *Two kotas no achhaar, Mpilo you remember, they said he will give us*
168
169 Lo uya...[fingerclap], uya...[fingerclap]... shame...uyashaya
170 *This one he.. he... shame, he beats*
171
172 Ushaya nina
173 *He beats you*
174
175 Yayi sengishayo
176 *No I'm just saying*
177
178 Yayi kimi, besimfuna mbeke uthukile
179 *Not at me, we wanted to look at him, he's scared*
180
181 Angifuni ukusukela abanye abantwana
182 *I don't want to tease other kids*
183
184 Ubani ungathenga lama-G Tax lawayana
185 *Who can buy thos G Tax, those ones*
186
187 Yayi mabi
188 *No they're ugly*
189
190 Eya kuWhite Belt mawucala, if uphumile kubantu abayitwenty kusala abayiten yena beka namba 6 mina ngonamba-5
ku-Top 10
191 *It is white belt when you start. If you were knocked out at the twenty then ten are left. She was number 6 he was
number 5 at Top 10. (Top 10 is a game school students play)*
192
193 Saphumasonke evukani kasula iDO, iDO yawina kuWhite Belt asazi obani oyewawina kuGreen belt
194 *Then we're all knowked out at Vukani, the DO was left alone then DO won at green belt.*

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Firecrackers
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Shop Speaker: Female Topic: School
Mix: Intrasentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Topic: Trade
Location: Shop Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Mix: Intersentential Switch To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Shop Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Shop Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu To: Child same age
Location: Shop To: Female
Mix: Insert English Topic: School
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Female
Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Shop Speaker: Female Topic: School
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None

195
196 Yonk' eVukani yadliwa, bekuyimi, uPontso noLuthile. *Usir wasinika i-dictionary wathi sifunde i-spelling system*
sasifunda sasiceda
197 *All at Vukani they lost, it was only me, Pontso and Luthile. The teacher said we should read the spelling system, we*
read and finished.
198
199 Hey how much crickets?
200 *Hey how many crickets?*
201
202 Ho *Jesus Christ brigamanzi!*
203 *Ho Jesus Christ bring water.*
204
205
206 Yo bayacala ukubon' amaphoyisa
207 *Yo it's their first time seeing cops*
208
209 Bamshaye ngebom
210 *They hit her with a bomb*
211
212 Kube ngifile kube bangishaye ngebom, ibom yani, uyasho ukuthi abangi nakanga.
213 *If I died after they hit me with a bomb, a bomb for what, she says that they did not pay attention to me.*
214
215 Besidlala iCrazy-8. uThembe ngamudla ukwafile.
216 *We are playing Crazy-8. Thembe I beat her (won against her) she is angry.*
217
218 Mina ngiyayaz' iCrazy-8 neTop-10. Ngifundiswe womkhulwami.
219 *Me I know Crazy-8 and Top-10. I was taught by my grandfather.*
220
221 *Last year bekumnandi eVukani aboThembe bebajaiva.*
222 *Last year it was nice at Vukani Thembe and his friends were dancing.*
223
224 Wena bewungekho *last year.*
225 *You were not there last year.*
226
227 Bengikhona ngifunda uGrade-3. Ngicale eGrade-3 eVukani.
228 *I was here learning Grade 3. I started in Grade 3 at Vukani.*
229
230 Asijaveni amapantsula
231 *Let's dance some pantsula.*
232
233 Umuntu makahlale nani uzocina alanya awuthi ngiyekuBelinda, brig'amanzi.
234 *A person let him stay with you he will end up crazy. Let me go to Belinda, bring water*
235
236 Ekukwini nasesiswini, uphumaphi?
237 *In the pussy and in the belly, where does it come from?*
238
239 Yaphuma yo bakusika isisu.
240 *It comes out yo, they cut your belly*
241
242 Kukhona abanye '-bobo ayi-two eyokukhipha umtwana neyokucama.

Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu To: Child same age
Location: Shop To: Female
Mix: Insert English Topic: School
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Female
Supervision: None
Language: English Speaker: Female Topic: Firecrackers
Location: Shop Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9
Location: Shop Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Mix: Intrasentential Switch To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Shop Speaker: Female Topic: Firecrackers
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Shop Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Shop Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Location: Shop Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Shop Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: School
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Shop Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female

243 *There are those two holes, the one for taking your baby and the one for peeing.*
244
245 Mina ngingenkinga
246 *I have a problem*
247
248 Nami ngingenkinga, uphumephi mele, ubuze umamakho
249 *I too have a problem, where did you get out, you must ask your mother*
250
251 Mina niyazi, ngabona ngisase mcani
252 *I know, I saw when I was young*
253
254 Ikhota
255 *The khota (hot sandwich)*
256
257 Yo, unamanga. My khota two 5 rands! (English used with the Ethiopian shop tenant)
258 *Yo, you're lying. My Khota two 5 rands!*
259
260 Ndumiso, Ndumiso kushubile baba, biza **amagata**.
261 *Ndumiso, Ndumiso is bad man, call a the cops*
262
263 Yo bawathengile lama-cricket, ithi ngehabele ngapha
264 *Wow they bought these crickets, let me walk this side.*
265
266 Ndumiso woza la... OK Ndumiso. Baba niyakuphi? Ndumiso? Niyakuphi Puleng.
267 *Ndumiso come here...OK Ndumiso Man where are you (pl.) going?Ndumiso? We are you going Puleng?*
268
269 Ayinabeteri?
270 *It doesn't have a battery?*
271
272 Akuyibeteri, kuyi-charger. i-Sim Card iphi?
273 *It's not the battery, it's the charger. Where is the Sim Card?*
274
275 uMamami uzoyikhipa
276 *My mum will take it out*
277
278 Baba ngicela ongiphe i-35 rands ngithenge ama-100 shooter
279 *Baba please give me 35 rands, so I buy 100-shooters*
280
281 Athengiswaphi?
282 *Where are they for sell?*
283
284 Uyabona laphaya ngase, **utsheka** kaShika ngapha
285 *You see that side down there, check by Shika's down there*
286
287 Mm Mm!
288 *No!*
289
290 Ngiye ngamupha i-200 rands
291 *I gave her 200 rands*
292

Location: Shop Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Shop Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Shop Speaker: Female Topic: Trade
Mix: Intersentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Firecrackers
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male Topic: Technology
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: House Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male Topic: Firecrackers
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Adult Topic: Money
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Father Topic: Trade
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Father
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Adult
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Male
Location: House To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Male
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Relative
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Relative Topic: Money
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult

293 Eyani?
294 Which are for?
295
296 Eyakho ukuphi?
297 Yours where is she?
298
299 Ah baba, ng'yakucela
300 Ha dad, I am asking you please
301
302 Konje ngiyinikwe wobani i-charger?
303 So I was give by who a charger?
304
305 Uyinikwe wobani i-charger? Uyinikwe yimi.
306 You were given by who a charger? I gave it to you.
307
308 Haah Lindi!
309 No Lindi!
310
311 Uyakhumbula?
312 Do you remember?
313
314 Manje wena why uziyenza serious
315 Now why are you making yourself serious?
316
317 End mawukhuluma ufutha amakhala
318 And when you talk you blow through your nose
319
320 Ngizoyiletha angazi nini, mari bengizintshele ukuthi ngizobuya ngapha
321 I will bring it I don't know when, but I was telling myself that I will come back this way
322
323 Angithi is-crap sakha asifuni ukungi-tsharj-isa
324 I say your scrap/crap doesn't want to charge for me.
325
326 Hamba uyobheka leya charger
327 Come you will see this charger
328
329 i-Charger umamami akanayo uyiboleka kuTutho
330 A charger my mum doesn't have one, she borrows it from Thutho
331
332 Onayo i-charger umamakho, uyiboleka kuTwana yani?
333 She had a charger your mum, she borrows it from Twana what for?
334
335 Eish, a lied, ayina-charger, iphuma eh... Eh..
336 Eish I lied, it doesn't have a charger, it goes out eh..
337
338 Yo mina angithandi ukungabenemali
339 Yo me I don't like being without money
340
341 Hambothenga amachips
342 Go and buy snacks

Language: Zulu	Speaker: Female	To: Adult
Location: House	Supervision: Adult	To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	Supervision: Female	To: Relative
Speaker: Age 7-9	Supervision: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Female	Supervision: Male
Location: House	Speaker: Relative	To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	Supervision: Adult	To: Relative
Speaker: Adult	Supervision: Female	To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Female	To: Adult
Location: House	Supervision: Adult	To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	Supervision: Female	To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9	Supervision: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Adult	
Location: House	Speaker: Female	
Mix: Insert English	To: Female	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Younger Child	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Adult	To: Female
Location: House	Speaker: Female	To: Relative
Mix: Insert English	Speaker: Relative	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Adult	
Language: Undertermined	Speaker: Female	To: Adult
Location: House	Supervision: Adult	To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	Supervision: Female	To: Relative
Speaker: Age 7-9	Supervision: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Female	To: Relative
Location: House	Speaker: Relative	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Adult	
Speaker: Adult	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Mix: Transfer	Speaker: Male
Location: House	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Adult
Mix: Insert English	Speaker: Adult	To: Female
Mix: Insert Sotho	Speaker: Father	To: Relative
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Adult	To: Female
Location: House	Speaker: Father	To: Relative
Mix: Insert English	Speaker: Male	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Adult	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Adult	To: Male
Location: House	Speaker: Female	To: Relative
Mix: Insert Afrikaans	Speaker: Relative	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Adult	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Adult	To: Male
Location: House	Speaker: Female	To: Relative
Mix: Insert English	Speaker: Relative	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Adult	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Adult	To: Relative
Location: House	Speaker: Father	To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English	Speaker: Male	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Female	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	Supervision: Male
Location: House	Speaker: Female	To: Adult
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: Adult	To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	Supervision: Female	To: Male
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Adult	To: Younger Child
Location: House	Speaker: Father	
Mix: Insert English	Speaker: Male	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Female	
Language: English	Mix: Intrasentential Switch	Supervision: Adult To: Male
Language: Zulu	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	Supervision: Male
Location: House	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Adult
Mix: Insert English	Speaker: Female	To: Father
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Female	To: Female
Location: House	Supervision: Adult	To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	Supervision: Female	Topic: Money
Speaker: Age 7-9	Supervision: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Adult	To: Relative
Location: House	Speaker: Female	To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English	Speaker: Relative	

343
344 Baba athe uTshepiso seyenze i-exchange
345 *Dad Tshepiso said we must make an exchange*
346
347 Mina ngina enye i-NTO
348 *I do have an other NTO*
349
350 Uyambo'
351 *Do you see her?*
352
353 Muyekele (mu: Sotho object pronoun; SZ: myekele)
354 *Leave her*
355
356 Nangu ubaba kaTeboho uthengisa i-Samsung nge-400
357 *Here is Teboho's fater, he sells a Samsung for 400*
358
359 Uthini?
360 *What are you saying?*
361
362 Ine-charger nama-headset
363 *It has a charger and headphones*
364
365 Baba ungayithengisi kuzob' eyami
366 *Baba you musn't sell it, it will be mine*
367
368 Phela mina ngizothenga yonke into
369 *Because I will buy every thing*
370
371 Baba ungayithengisi leyami, sizocabana (SZ: -xabana)
372 *Dad don't sell it it's mine, we will be crossed at each other boy*
373
374 Kuyafana ngoba wena uyinika umamakho
375 *It's the same because you give it to your mother*
376
377 **A never!**
378 *I won't*
379
380 Uyithengisa malini
381 *For how much do you sell it?*
382
383 600, you take it or leave it
384
385 Baba baba baba!
386
387 Iyeke i-tsharj-e
388 *Leave it to charge*
389
390 Yokonje i-crap, kuyabona kala ukuthi abo-dandahed uyayivula
391 *And with crap, you see there are DunderHeads, you open it*
392

Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Male
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Relative
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Relative Topic: Money
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Relative
Location: House Speaker: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Speaker: Adult To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Male
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Relative
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Relative Topic: Technology
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Male
Location: House Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Father
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Innovation Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Father
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Relative
Location: House Speaker: Relative Topic: Money
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Speaker: Adult To: Male
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Female Topic: Money
Location: House Speaker: Adult To: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Register: Undetermined Speaker: Female Supervision: Female To: Adult To: Male
Location: House Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Adult Supervision: Male To: Father Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: House Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male Topic: Technology
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Relative

393 Uyivula kanjani? Iphi eyakho i-*phone*?
394 *How do you open it?Where is your phone?*
395
396 Nayi umzababa, hah baba, umzababa ongaka
397 *Here it is the big one, he dad, the big like this*
398
399 Usebenzisa ama-*phone* ayi-*two*
400 *You use two phones*
401
402 Ya leyi-*original*
403 *This one it's an original (genuine one)*
404
405 Manje wena imali '-yifuna, manje woza inyanga mayiphela kuzobayi 800 ikhupuka nge-*two*
406 *Now you, money you want it, now come month end it goes up it will be R800 for both*
407
408 Ngoba wena uyoyifuna ezipini
409 *Because you will need it on the zip*
410
411 Uyoyifuna endoda yakhe
412 *She'll want it from her boyfriend*
413
414 Yipokemani lam' leliyana
415 *It's my pocket money this one!*
416
417 Baba baba ithi *no* baba
418 *Dad dad say no dad!*
419
420 Yekela ukoba nosatani
421 *Stop having a devil's heart (lit.: stop being with the devils)*
422
423 Anginaphone mele ngiyenze kanjani?
424 *I don't have a phone, how must I do?*
425
426 Uzoyithola
427 *You will get it*
428
429 Mele ngithole abangani, ngifun' ngidlale Mixit yo!
430 *I must get friends, I want to play Mixit wow!* (Mixit is a popular phone chat service)
431
432 Manje i-*card* lingena kanjani?
433 *Now the card how does it enter?*
434
435 Ye? Hamba uyodlala uzosikhumula mawubuya!
436 *What? Hey go and play, you will speak to us when you come back*
437
438 Angazi, ithi ngibheke
439 *I don't know, let me see*
440
441 Why uthi *mi*?
442 *Why do you say me?*

Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: House Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male Topic: Technology
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Relative Topic: Technology
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Father
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Relative
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Female
Location: House Speaker: Male To: Relative
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male Topic: Technology
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Relative
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male Topic: Technology
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Relative Topic: Technology
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: House To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Relative
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Relative
Location: House Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Female To: Adult

443
444 Sekhuluma i-business
445 We're talking business
446
447 Izofuna i-pin angithi
448 It will need a pin anyway
449
450 Iphendulele... Why ukhumula iicatulo?
451 Turn it over... Why do you take out your shoe?
452
453 Sofundisa mina umnigaziwayo
454 You're teaching me, the owner of this thing?
455
456 Sori oyanginyathela, sisi
457 Sorry you're stepping on me, sister
458
459 Baba uyaphi?
460 Dad where are you going to?
461
462 Ngibuya ebholweni
463 I'm coming back from the football
464
465 Yeh?
466 What?
467
468 Bengisayokufuneka umamcani
469 I went to take you to you're aunt (lit.: little mother)
470
471 Ithatha is'khathi ukulay'ta uyazi
472 It takes time to light on you know
473
474 Khipa amateki bese oyodlala
475 Take out those sneakers and then go and play
476
477 Lebetrhi liphantsi
478 This battery is low
479
480 Ithi mmm
481 It says so so
482
483 Ithi ngibheke, ungayicimi
484 Let me look, don't switch it off
485
486 Angiyicimi
487 I'm not switching it off
488
489 Ithi ngibheke, iya-rhejista
490 Let me see, it's registering
491
492 Ithathat is'khathi, hay' ibetrhi liba lo. i-Simcard ayifakwanga

Mix: Transfer Supervision: Adult To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Male
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Relative
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Relative Topic: Technology
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Location: House Speaker: Adult
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Female
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father
Location: House Speaker: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Speaker: Adult To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Female
Location: House Speaker: Father
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Technology
Location: House Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Relative Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Technology
Location: House Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: House To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: House To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Technology
Location: House Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Female

493 *It's taking time, no the battery is getting low. Simcard is not installed.*
494
495 Khuluma imali baba
496 *Speak about money dad*
497
498 Uyoyenzani umamakho laphaya e-bottle store? Uyothenga?
499 *What is your mum going to do at the bottle store? Is she going to buy?*
500
501 Bheka udla yini lomtwana i-tatarik oh yini
502 *Look she's eating what this child, it's Tartaric or what?*
503
504 Athi uShutha siyenze i-exchange
505 *Shutha says we must do an exchange*
506
507 I-exchange kanjani?
508 An exchange how?
509
510 Rosanne mina aginafoni, uNomfundo uhlala athatha amafoni ami, ithi ngiphuze mtanawakhiti!
511 *Rosanne me I don't have a phone, Nomfundo always takes my phones, so I must drink little sister (lit.: of or place)*
512
513 Why unje?
514 *Why are you like this?*
515
516 Tumelo!
517
518 Ithi off-line, why? Why ngabambi i-network?
519 *It says off-line,why? Why doesn't it hold, the network?*
520
521 *Maybe yi-CellC, ithi ngibone*
522 *Maybe it's Cell C, let me see* (CellC: South African phone company)
523
524 Iphelile nami angiphuzanga
525 *It is finished, I did not drink either*
526
527 Awufune i-Simcard ye MTN?
528 *Doesn't it need an MTN simcard?*
529
530 Ngifuna enye nenye, umamami angazi uwabega kuphi ama-Simcard
531 *I want more and more, my mum I don't know where she keeps the sim cards*
532
533 Katleho awume man
534 *Katleho stop man*
535
536 Ngifuna ukuvala man eish!
537 *I want to close it man!*
538
539 Ungakhona ukuyisebenzisa yonke indawo
540 *You can make it work it anywhere*
541
542 Mmm?

Location: House Speaker: Father Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male Topic: Money
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: House Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: House Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: House Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Relative
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male Topic: Technology
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Location: House Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Transfer Speaker: Relative Topic: Parenting
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Adult Speaker: Male To: Relative Topic: Parenting
Location: House Speaker: Father To: Female To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Location: House Speaker: Adult Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Female
Mix: Transfer To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult
Location: House Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Relative
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Technology
Location: House Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Female To: Male
Location: House Speaker: Female Supervision: Male To: Relative
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Relative To: Adult Topic: Technology
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Adult To: Father
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Adult
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Adult
Mix: Insert Sotho Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Adult Speaker: Male To: Relative

543
544 Ungakhona ukuyisebenzisa
545 *You can make it work*
546
547 Manje uthini ke Frans, asikhulume sebadlala
548 *Now what are you saying Frans, let's talk like old ones (grown ups)*
549
550 Teboho leth' i-glazi ngikulethele i-juzi (SZ: i(li)gilazi)
551 *Teboho bring the glass so I pour juice for you*
552
553 Uyabona mawuyivala, uyithi
554 *You see when you close it you say it*
555
556 Manje uyangithengisela, bese uTumelo ngimuphe i-100 rand
557 *Now you're selling to me, then on top of it I will give Tumelo a 100 rands*
558
559 Yayi, angiyifuni Rosanne
560 *No I don't want it Rosanne*
561
562 Uthini Frans yeh? End awuna-charger, awunama-headphone ne-charger
563 *What are you saying Frans? And you do't have a charger, you don't have headphones nor a charger*
564
565 I-charger i-simple ngingayithenga, plus i-original
566 *The charger is simple I can buy it, plus it's an original*
567
568 Nami nginawe ama-original, manje uthini ke?
569 *I have the originals, now what are you saying?*
570
571 Ithi ngikhulume noTumelo
572 *Let me speak to Tumelo*
573
574 Angeke avume uzothi unabangani, ngizoyithatha, shem!
575 *She won't agree she will say she has friends, I will take it, shame!*
576
577 Manje ngiyenze njani?
578 *Now how must I do?*
579
580 Mos onayo i-phone
581 *Anyway she has one a phone*
582
583 Awunayo i-simcard
584 *You don't have a sim card*
585
586 Si-tshendje ama-simcard, angifuni, angifuni. Angifuni baba mina
587 *We must change sim cards, I don't want to, I don't want to. Dad me I don't want to*
588
589 Inkinga i-one mele ngi-hiphe le-phone le yana ngikuphe yona
590 *The first problem is that I must take out this phone and give it to you*
591
592 Angithi mele sikhipe leya-phone mabanginika imali, angiphisani ngemali uyabona umtanawan'. Ngiphe wena

Location: House Speaker: Father To: Female To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Father
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: House To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Adult Topic: Trade
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
Location: House To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Relative
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: House To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Money
Location: House Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Relative
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Technology
Location: House Speaker: Female Topic: Trade
Mix: Insert English To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Location: House Speaker: Adult Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Trade
Mix: Transfer To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Technology
Location: House Speaker: Female Topic: Trade
Mix: Insert English To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father Topic: Parenting
Location: House Speaker: Male Topic: Trade
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Speaker: Adult To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Trade
Location: House Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: House To: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult Topic: Trade
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Technology
Location: House Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Female To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult Topic: Technology
Location: House Speaker: Female Topic: Trade
Mix: Insert English To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male Topic: Technology
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Location: House Speaker: Adult To: Female
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Father Topic: Technology
Mix: Transfer Speaker: Male
Language: Zulu To: Adult

umdala kanje, uyayibona Mantso so?

593 *We should take out that phone when they give us money, I don't give people money my child. I should give it to you when you're older, you can see you're a granny, do you see Mtsofe this way?*

594

595 Yenzanoma yini baba

596 *You do whatever dad*

597

598 Haana angithi awunane-simcard

599 *Ha come on, you have a sim card*

600

601 Ikhona mos ikhona

602 *It is here, plus it is here*

603

604 Ithi ngiyambe naya mos afuni ngiyithengise

605 *Let me leave with it because you don't want me to sell it*

606

607 Ngiphuma nayo!

608 *I'm going out with it!*

609

610 Ubabam' ungiphe iphone ngicale ngabane E-250, wangipha itouchscreen ne-Motorola itouch imoshekile

611 *My dad gave me a phone, I first had an E-250 and he gave me a touch screen and a Motorola, the touch is broken.*

612

613 Nawe ungibambile ngamaxanda (SZ: amaqanda)

614 *You're touching me with the eggs*

615

616 Ngawathatha ngathi niks drop the gun down namachocolate. Amaningi ngathi niks drop the gun down.

617 *I took them and I say don't drop the gun down and the chocolates. I said don't drop the gun down.*

618

619 Ngiwathengile amacricket ama-100-shuta

620 *I bought crickets, the 100-shooter ones*

621

622 Kuphi? KaLifika?

623 *Where? At Lifika's?*

624

625 35 rand bangiphe yi-40 rand

626 *It's 35 rands, they gave me 40 rands*

627

628 Uzowayenzani, uzowabeka fo kusasa?

629 *What will you do with them, will you save them for tomorrow?*

630

631 Ngizowabekela kusasa, bengikhalela iphone

632 *I'll leave them for tomorrow, I was crying for a phone.*

633

634 Ubabawami ungilethele iphone engathi yi-Blackberry mari yi-Nokia. Bathi ngiyinike uRosanne uzongibadala ngo-January ithousand.

635 *My dad brought me a phone that looks like a Blackberry, but it is a Nokia. They say I must give it to Rosanne, she will pay me in january a thousand rands.*

636

637 Makuba wa-February bazongithengela iphone entsha ngizohamba noRosanne.

638 *When it starts to be February they will buy me a phone that's new, I will go with Rosanne.*

Location: House To: Male
Mix: Insert English Topic: Technology
Mix: Transfer Topic: Trade
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Adult
Speaker: Female

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: House Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female Topic: Technology

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Male
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Adult
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: Adult To: Father
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: House Speaker: Father To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female

Language: Zulu Speaker: Father
Location: House Speaker: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child

Language: Zulu Mix: Insert Sotho Supervision: None
Location: Street Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Female Topic: Technology

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female

Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Female Topic: Crime Related
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Role playing

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Firecrackers
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Money
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

Language: Innovation Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Female

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Supervision: None
Location: Street To: Child same age
Mix: Insert Afrikaans To: Female
Mix: Insert English Topic: Money
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Topic: Technology
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Female

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None

639
640 Uzosithengela ini ngemali yethu.
641 *What will you buy for us with our money.*
642
643 Yo niksi, ngiyawasaba amablackspider, ibom angiyisabi
644 *Wow nothing, I am afraid of black spiders, a bomb I am not afraid of.*
645
646 **Cwalake** ibomb, angiyasabi.
647 *Boast with a bomb, I am not afraid of it.*
648
649 Niks, uthi ukuphe imali
650 *Nothing, he says he gave you money*
651
652 Mama utshwala, lobu sizobuphuza (SZ: -tshala 'home made beer')
653 *Mum this is alcohol there, we will drink it.*
654
655 Niphuza ini?
656 *What are you drinking?*
657
658 Kanti asiphuzi, yilanga elokuzijabulisa namhlanje
659 *It means we don't drink, this is a day to have fun today*
660
661 Mama uRosanne uzongithengela iphone
662 *Mum, Rosanne will buy me a phone*
663
664 Mama ngicela ungixambele inyama.
665 *Mum could you serve me meat?*
666
667 Mama ngifun' ukudla namhlanje, i-french
668 *Mum I want to eat today, french polony*
669
670 Mama uChantel uyahamba
671 *Mum Chantel is leaving*
672
673 *Ya!*
674 Yes
675
676 Uya eOrange Farm, uyakundoda yakhe, uzoshiya umtwana
677 *She is going to Orange Farm, she's going to her husband, she will leave the baby behind.*
678
679 Mama uhamba namaspeks wami, amehlowami ababahlunga mangi bukele iTV.
680 *Mum you're going with my spectacles, my eyes become sore when I'm watching TV.*
681
682 Amaspeks akho akhona, ngiwashiye ebekini
683 *Your glasses are here, I left them in my bag.*
684
685 Iphi iphone? Yah! ayina-MixIt, angiyifuni.
686 *Where is the phone. Hey it doesn't have MixIt, I don't want it.*
687
688 Iphi iphone yami? Beyi la

Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Female Topic: Firecrackers
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Firecrackers
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Money
Location: House Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult Topic: Parenting
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Transfer Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Female Topic: Technology
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Elderly To: Mother
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative

689 Where is my phone? It was here
690
691 Iphezulu kwetafula. Ngizothatha le enkulu
692 It's on the table. I'm going to take the big one
693
694 Hayi uzoyibuyisa
695 No, she will bring it back
696
697 Mama ngicel' ungphe iphone
698 Mum can you please give me a phone
699
700 Thatha leyana enkulu
701 Take that big one
702
703 Yo angiyifuni
704 Yo I don't want it
705
706 Umama wakho ufunale les'dudla
707 Your mum wants this big one
708
709 Yo yimbi and iyadura
710 Yo it's ugly and it's expensive
711
712 Ngizomthengela
713 I will buy it for her
714
715
716 Ebafaneni number one, bazokunyoba ikuku izophela, mina angibathandi ozobayis'febe asasemini ikuku izoguga
717 At the boys' number one, they will fuck your pussy untill it is finished. Me I don't like them when you'll be a bitch, the day you're pussy will get old.
718
719 You understand? Yeah, no? Yes!
720
721 Mina angiyithandi i-'buka la'... hayi nyoba la, nyoba la hayi **finger fuck detirat'**
722 I don't like it hte 'look here'... hey fuck here hey you finger fucker dirty rat!
723
724 Bafethu ngicela ningakhulume izinto ezisile phelale yi-recorder
725 Guys please don't talk bad things, because this is a recorder
726
727 Halleluyah!
728
729 Ak'y'si-oil (akuyisi-oil)
730 It is not oil
731
732 Yini?
733 What it is?
734
735 Yi-deep
736 It's jase fluid
737

Location: House Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Mother Topic: Technology
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Supervision: Adult To: Female
Location: House Supervision: Elderly To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: House Speaker: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Female Topic: Technology
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Elderly To: Mother
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: House Speaker: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Elderly To: Mother
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: House To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Speaker: Adult
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Elderly Topic: Money
Location: House Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Female
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Female To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Female
Language: Zulu To: Female
Location: House To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Adult
Speaker: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Mix: Insert English To: Child same age
Register: Vulgar To: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Female
Language: English Location: Street Mix: Intrasentential Switch Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Female
Language: Zulu Mix: Insert English Register: Vulgar Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Mix: Insert English To: Child same age
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 Topic: Recorder
Language: English Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Language: Undertermined Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father
Location: Yard To: Female
Mix: Insert English To: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Father
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Father
Location: Yard To: Female
Mix: Insert English To: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child

738 Yi-deep awuyiyazi?
739 *It's jase fluid, you don't know it?*
740
741 Yo bhekani le-oil ukuthi iyenzeni, bafethu nibhekeni
742 *Yo look at what this oil is doing, guys watch it*
743
744 Ngiyo thatha i-100 shuta, nithi shapa tambler
745 *I will to take the 100 shooter, you (pl.) say make a breakfall*
746
747 Shapa tambler
748 *Make a breakfall*
749
750 Uzoshaya ithambla bese akhukula ibandi bese yakashaya athi tswitswitswi
751 *He'll make a breakfall and he will take out belt and they say tswitswitswi*
752
753 uLihle, umfana, thina simbiza noZonke, athi mamela ke **tshomi** yam' mamela **tshomi** yam'
754 *He is Lihle, he's a boy, we call him noZonke, he says listen my friend, listen my friend.*
755
756 Baleka ngizoyiphesela kuwe ibom
757 *Run away, I'll throw the bom on you*
758
759 Ungazothusa umtwana
760 *Don't scare the baby*
761
762 Ngicela ukuthi ningitshela ukuthi kanjani
763 *Can you please tell me how I am*
764
765 Ulimapheni?
766 *How did you get hurt?*
767
768 Ungayisusi ibuhlungu
769 *Don't take it out it is painful*
770
771 Ngicela ukuzwa
772 *Can I feel it?*
773
774 Isawa sipe yona, uyaj**java** ugogo kaThembe u**jay'va** hlogoza
775 *It is a sawer give it to use, She's dancing Thembe's grandmother, she's dancing Hlogoloza*
776
777 Lomlungu walelo uzoyithatha k'sasa, ngiyolala ngayo ngiyorikoda noma ngik**gona**
778 *(Sotho: kgona; NorthSotho,Tswana: gona)*
779 *This white man of this thing will take it tomorrow, I will sleep with it, I will record when I snear.*
780
781 Ibhaliwe uyabona world transfer
782 *It is written on it you see world transfer*
783
784 Akumelanga ukuthi emakithi kujabulwe. Nange '-birthday yami kwashona ugogo wami azange ngiyiselebrethe. Yo
nayiinja engiyizonda kunazo zonke
785 *It's wrong at our home to be happy. And at my birthday my granny passed away. I did not celebrate it. Yo, here is the
dog that I hate more than all others*

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Father
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Location: Yard Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Mix: Insert Sotho Supervision: Adult Topic: Firecrackers
Language: Sotho Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: Adult
Register: Iscamtho Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult Topic: Firecrackers
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: Adult
Register: Iscamtho Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Topic: Recorder
Location: Yard Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Mix: Insert Sotho To: Child same age
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Language: Innovation Speaker: Female
Language: Zulu Supervision: Adult
Location: Yard Supervision: Male
Mix: Insert English To: Child same age
Mix: Transfer To: Female

786
787 UWhitey?
788 Whitey?
789
790 Yo uyagijimisana uWhitey
791 *Yo Whitey chases people*
792
793 Nina niyamosukela
794 *You tease him*
795
796 Ungarasi
797 *Don't make noise*
798
799 Iyangaphandle
800 *Go outside*
801
802 Kushoniwe, *respecta and* kukhona umulo laphahya
803 *It's a burial, respect and there's a person there*
804
805 Anginandaba
806 *I don't care*
807
808 UPheko uthanda uKwena na-Jerry
809 *Pheko loves Kwena and Jerry*
810
811 Ma ngithi uyicine nini *iauthi* yakho, uKwena uyahleka
812 *When I say when was the last time you saw your boyfriend, Kwena laughs*
813
814 Iphi imali ukuphe malini?
815 *Where is the money, how much did he give you?*
816
817 I-40 rands. Ngithenge amacricket nge-35 rands, kusele i-5 rands
818 *40 rands. I bought crickets for 35 rands, what was left is 5rands*
819
820 Unemali yokudlala, hayi, 35 rands
821 *You have money to waste/play with, no, 35 rands*
822
823 Maningi, ayisix ngaphakathi
824 *They are many, they are 6 inside*
825
826 Yeye awungigay' iwundra
827 *Yeh give me a hundred rands*
828
829 Khuluma kahle, njengobaba nidlala
830 *Speak well, the way you play*
831
832 Sikhuluma nomayini
833 *We should speak anything*
834
835 Njengoba nikhuluma nabangane bakho

(from Afr. raas ' be noisy')

Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 7-9
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Yard Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Yard Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Mother Topic: Money
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Female Topic: Firecrackers
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Adult Topic: Money
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Elderly To: Mother
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Mother Topic: Money
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Female
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Elderly To: Mother
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Female Supervision: Female To: Female Topic: Money
Location: House Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Adult To: Adult To: Mother
Language: Zulu Speaker: Mother
Location: House To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Speaker: Adult Topic: Recorder
Speaker: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child

836 *The way you talk to your friends*
837
838 Mama bafuna ukwenzani?
839 *Mama what do they want to do?*
840
841 Yo angazi
842 *Yo I don't know*
843
844 Bazongipha imali, liyaba abayenza ama-filim
845 *They will give me money, it's this one who makes films*
846
847 Angazi, uthe uzobuya
848 *I don't know, he said he will come back*
849
850 Ngilambile
851 *I am hungry*
852
853 Kulambe mina
854 *I'm the one who's hungry*
855
856 Yo mfethu asidswaye
857 *Yo bro let's go out!*
858
859 Hamba ngenyawo (SZ: ngezinyawo)
860 *Go by foot, go*
861
862 Ngizokukuka woza sambe
863 *I'll pick you up, come let's go*
864
865 Asambeni, onangaki? Una-3?
866 *Let's go, how old is she? She is 3?*
867
868 Uyaphapha wena
869 *You're full of yourself*
870
871 Rosanne uyaphi? *Why ushiya umtwana? Ungashi lomtwana.*
872 *Rosanne where are you going? Why are you leaving the child? Don't leave this child*
873
874 Ni-right? Nilambile? Lalani?
875 *Are you alright? Are you hungry? Sleep*
876
877 Ngicela uyolanda imop laphaya embedeni mama
878 *Please pass a mop, there in the bed mama*
879
880 Uphi umamakho?
881 *Where is your mother?*
882
883 Usemsebenzini
884 *She is at work*
885

Location: House Speaker: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Recorder
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Mother Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Recorder
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Street Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: Adult
Register: Iscamtho Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: House Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Older Child
Location: House Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Male To: Female
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Location: House Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Transfer Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: House Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: House Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female

886 Yini?
887 *What is it?*
888
889 Umtwana wakaboThembe lo
890 *It's the baby from Thembe's family.*
891
892 Yo li-scary movie lesi
893 *Yo it's a scary movie this*
894
895 Iyangidina le-DVD
896 *I am bored with this DVD*
897
898 Uyofunda '-grade '-bani next year?
899 *What grade are you going to study next year?*
900
901 Grade 4
902
903 Umfundile u-grade R?
904 *Did you do grade R?*
905
906 Angimuyenzani
907 *I did not do it.*
908
909 Wena uyofundaphi?
910 *Where will you study (attend school)?*
911
912 Niyarasa man
913 *You're making noise man*
914
915 Ngizogruva until the morning
916 *I'll groove until the morning*
917
918 Asiyeni ngaphandle
919 *Let's go outside*
920
921 Ngithenge ama-100 shuta namabombs. Uyahlanya noma uyaziyanzisa?
922 *I bought 100-shooters and bombs. Are you mad or are you acting mad?*
923
924 Bayayicula ekhwayeni
925 *They're singing it at the choirs*
926
927 Uyofunda '-grade'-bani, askis my friend
928 *What grade will you be doing, sorry my friend*
929
930 Ngilay'te i-criket **ngalahla** langishisa
931 *I lighted a cricket I wasn't watching, it burnt me.*
932
933 Mina bayongithengela i-xpress
934 *They will buy me an xpress*
935

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: House Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: House Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: House Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Innovation Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult Topic: School
Language: English Language: Zulu Mix: Insert English Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Adult To: F
Language: Undertermined Location: House Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male Supervision: Female To: C
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult Topic: School
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: House Supervision: Adult Topic: School
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Male
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Elderly Topic: School
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Elderly To: Female
Location: House Speaker: Female To: Relative
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Grand Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Language: English Mix: Intrasentential Switch Speaker: Mother
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Elderly
Location: House Speaker: Adult To: Female
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Female To: Grand Mother
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Male
Location: House Supervision: Adult To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Elderly
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Female Topic: Firecrackers
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Undertermined Mix: Insert English Speaker: Female Topic: School
Language: Zulu Mix: Intersentential Switch Supervision: None
Location: Street Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Female Topic: Firecrackers
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Older Child

936 Owami yi *tshepis*
937 *Mine is a Chapi's*
938
939 Tumelo labantwana bakini bazohamba la?
940 *Tumelo these kids from your place they will leave here?*
941
942 Ngeke balicede igolo lakho
943 *They won't finish your pussy*
944
945 Thabo lomtwana lo uzosikwadzisa
946 *Thulani, this kid will bully us*
947
948 Nizodlala ama-*crickets*?
949 *Will you play with firecrackers*
950
951 Uthanda uSam Khumalo lo (SZ: uSam wakwaKhumalo)
952 *She loves Sam Khumalo this one*
953
954 Uyayaz' ibokhwe?
955 *Do you know a goat?*
956
957 Uyayaz' ikhusha? (SZ: iligusha)
958 *Do you know a sheep?*
959
960 Mina ngiyasaz' isixhosa
961 *I know Xhosa*
962
963 Uborekile umtwana wakini
964 *Your little sister is bored*
965
966 Thatha i-*cricket* ulilahlele emanzini
967 *Take the fire cracker and throw it in water*
968
969 Ini?
970 *What?*
971
972 Ngibuzeni yini umtshitshirimbani. Umuntu **oxondo**
973 *Ask me what is a Tshitshirimbani. It's someone who's skinny*
974
975 *Just talk*, khuluma phela
976 *Just talk, talk any how*
977
978 Abolindi bayo**java** e1-12
979 *Lindi and his boys are going to dance at 112 (one-twelve)*
980
981 Yayi kuse sikgogweni laphayana
982 *No that is the devil's place there*
983
984 (singing) Umuntu uyafa, ziyagijima, *they run away*
985 *A person is dying, they run away, they run away*

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Vulgar To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: House Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Firecrackers
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Innovation Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Relative
Location: Street Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Firecrackers
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: English
Language: Zulu
Location: Street

986
987
988
989
990
991
992
993
994

- Mix: Intersentential Switch
- Register: Local Variety - Neutral
- Speaker: Age 7-9
- Speaker: Female
- Supervision: None
- To: Child same age
- To: Female

Recording 6

Recording 6

001 Nidlale. Ufuna... Ufun' uku-tay'pa manikhuluma. Ufuna nikhulume. Motho ole o tlo tla ka-6-o'clock a tlo collecta
002 nthwe.
003 *You (pl) must play. He wants... He wants to record you when you speak. You must play. The person will come at 6
004 o'clock to collect this thing.*
005
006 Ke eng? eno ke ntho ya ho bua na?
007 *What is that? Is it something that talks?*
008
009 ...Lika ema ha ke ho bone mo-corne-ng. O e thatetse hantjha bua sekgoa le yena o a se bua. Ke *mlungu*. O batla o
010 bue (unclear) ba batla sekgoa. Ba batla a bue sezulu le sesotho. Babtla (unclear). Ka 6-o'clock e tla be e tletse o tla tlo
011 mo-collect'
012 *Lika stop, I don't see you at the corner. Did you wrap it afresh? It's the White man. He wants you to speak (unclear)
013 they want English. They should speak Zulu and Sotho. They want (unclear). At 6 o'clock it will be full he will come
014 and collect it.*
015
016 Ubatla eli-one
017 *He wants one*
018
019 *I wonder o batlang o ba etsa eng hobane leba-Daniel o ba entse last week. Ke botsitse Sizwe hore wabatala nna kapa
020 ho etsahalang na. O itse yena he a tsebe.*
021 *I wonder what he wants to do with them, because he did Daniel (kids) last week. I asked Sizwe if he is paying me, or
022 what is happening. She said she doesn't know.*
023
024 Mama, sizovela kuveyiphi i-channel?
025 *Mum, what channel are we going to appear on?*
026
027 O tla ni bolella
028 *He will tell us*
029
030 Uzositshela, asazi
031 *He will tell us, we don't know*
032
033 Yena uzosho end' ba etsa tjhelete ka rona ha ba fitla ka kwa
034 *He will say, and they make money through us when they arrive there*
035
036 Ha se dikoloyi ka mo ntle ke tshaba le ho tswela sestrateng. Ha o ka bona hore di tletse jwang ke tshaba le ho tswa.
037 *There are so many cars outside, I'm even afraid to go to the street. If you can see how many they are, I am even
038 afraid to go out*
039
040 Uhlekani ehi
041 *What are you laughing about?*
042
043 Lere ba ba ko koneng, ba ba etsang, lere ba ba asesa?
044 *You say they're at the corner, what are they doing to them, you say they're assessing them?*
045
046 Kuzokhuluma wena, mina ngingakhulumi, usile
047 *You'll talk alone, I don't have to talk, you're mad*
048
049

Language: Sotho	Speaker: Female	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Grand Mother	
Location: Yard	To: Adult	
Mix: Insert English	To: Female	
Mix: Intersentential Switch	To: Relative	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	Topic: Recorder	
Speaker: Elderly		
Language: Sotho	Speaker: Female	To: Relative
Location: Yard	Speaker: Relative	Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Elderly	
Speaker: Adult	To: Grand Mother	
Language: Sotho	To: Relative	
Location: Yard	Topic: Recorder	
Mix: Insert English		
Register: Local Variety - Neutral		
Speaker: Elderly		
Speaker: Female		
Speaker: Grand Mother		
To: Adult		
To: Female		
Language: Sotho	Speaker: Elderly	To: Female
Location: Yard	Speaker: Female	To: Relative
Mix: Insert English	Speaker: Grand Mother	Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Adult	
Language: English	Speaker: Female	
Language: Sotho	Speaker: Relative	
Location: House	To: Elderly	
Mix: Insert English	To: Female	
Mix: Intrasentential Switch	To: Grand Mother	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	Topic: Recorder	
Speaker: Adult		
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Elderly
Location: House	Speaker: Female	To: Female
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: Adult	To: Grand Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	Supervision: Elderly	Topic: Recorder
Language: Sotho	Speaker: Elderly	To: Younger Child
Location: House	Speaker: Female	Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert Zulu	Speaker: Grand Father	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Female	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Female	Topic: Recorder
Location: House	Speaker: Relative	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Female	
Speaker: Adult	To: Younger Child	
Language: Sotho	Mix: Intrasentential Switch	Speaker: Relative
Language: Zulu	Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Elderly
Location: House	Speaker: Adult	To: Female
Mix: Insert English	Speaker: Female	To: Grand Mother
Language: Sotho	Speaker: Female	
Location: House	Speaker: Grand Mother	
Mix: Insert Afrikaans	To: Female	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Younger Child	
Speaker: Elderly		
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Female	To: Grand Mother
Location: House	Supervision: Elderly	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Elderly	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Female	
Language: Sotho	Speaker: Elderly	To: Younger Child
Location: House	Speaker: Female	
Mix: Insert English	Speaker: Grand Mother	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Relative	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Female	Topic: Recorder
Location: House	Supervision: Elderly	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Female	

042 Akhona amanzi wokugeza. *Shame, Mcedisi!*
043 *Is there water to wash? Shame, Mcedisi!*
044
045 Uyibukelile iCeltics?
046 *Did you watch Celtic?* (Celtic Bloemfontein, football team)
047
048 Ufuna ini amanzi? Wabafana bakithi ema yekelan' itsango
049 *What whater do you want? Water of my brothers, wait, stop the weed.*
050
051 Izinto ezidurayo...
052 *Expensive things...*
053
054 Uthini wena?
055 *What are you saying?*
056
057 Namhlanje abazali bethe bayohlala phandle
058 *Today the parents said they are going to sit outside*
059
060 Olwethu thatha amanzi
061 *Olwethu take some water*
062
063 Yebo mama, ngiyawathatha
064 *Yes mum I am taking it*
065
066 Karabo hello! Uyabona?
067 *Karabo hello! Do you see?*
068
069 Basithumile, ngicela ungikaphe
070 *They sent me (to the shop), please come with me*
071
072 Ya ya!
073 *Yeah yeah*
074
075 Bakuzwile kahle kamhlophe uyacula 'let me out before you go go'
076 *They heard you well when you are singing 'let me out before you go go'*
077
078 Abantwana ngicela ungakhulumi isilungu
079 *Children please don't speak English*
080
081 Unamanga, lomuntu usile, nimushaye!
082 *She's lying, this person is crazy, you must beat her!*
083
084 Muyekeleni (mu- i Sotho object prefix. SZ: myekeleni)
085 *Leave her*
086
087 Mina abantu bangidlela umona
088 *Me people are jealous of me (they give me jealousy/envy to eat)*
089
090 Eish ngicela ucime i-radio, iyarasa. Uyihlise yona iMareka 'ngongong'

Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: House Speaker: Female
Mix: Intersentential Switch Supervision: Elderly
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Sport
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
Location: Yard Speaker: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Mother
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Yard Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Undetermined To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female
Mix: Intrasentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert Sotho Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Location: Backroom Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female

091 *Eish, please turn off the radio, it's annoying. Take it down this Mareka dongdong*
092
093 Uyaphapha!
094 *You're full of yourself (arrogant)*
095
096 Ngizothi 'ngongongo'. Malema iSABC TV. Loliwe wayi bafana abacoka *ama-bumshort*.
097 *I will say 'ngongongo'. Listen to SABC TV. Loliwe why boys wear bumshorts?*
098
099 Nizongitshela ukuthi lento iya-recorda?
100 *You will tell me this thing is recording?*
101
102 O tla le botsa hore *why*, le tla mo jwetsa huri ne le *dlala*
103 *He will ask why, you'll tell him that you were playing*
104
105 Ngizotshela nobabami. Futhi ngimushaye nge-call back. Yayaya. Not done. Uyathanda ukucima i-phone. Ceda
uzongi-**tshika**. (from Eng. cheek) (-mu- is Sotho object prefix. SZ: ngimshaye)
106 *I will tell my dad. And I must give him a call back. Yayaya. Not done. He likes to turn off his phone. Then he blames
me*
107
108 Ithini, i-call back.
109 *What is it saying, a call back.*
110
111 Ithi...
112 *It says*
113
114 u-dayal-a *121*0789511987878555
115 *You dial *121*0789511987878555*
116
117 Uzoyenzela mina i-call back yini? Ufun' ukukwenzela mina ha
118 *Don't you want to do it for me the call back , how is it? Don't you want to do it for me?*
119
120 O mo etsetsa call back ya-MTN?
121 *Are you doing for him a call back by MTN?*
122
123 *End' zingashodi*
124 *And they mustn't be short*
125
126 Di ten di le tsohle
127 *There are ten all together*
128
129 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10 Done!
130
131 Wenzani? Ngikubhancile. Wenzani?
132 *What are you doing? I saw you. What are you doing?*
133
134 Ngikhulisa izinwele zami
135 *I'm growing my hair*
136
137 Yoh?
138

Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Female Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Sotho Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Location: Backroom Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Mix: Insert English To: Child same age
Mix: Insert Iscamtho To: Female
Mix: Insert Sotho Topic: Technology
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 7-9
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Sotho Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Sotho Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Location: Backroom Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Underetermined Register: Undetermined Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Location: Backroom Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Female

139 Abafana bamanje... Wena ugeza uhleliphantsi?
140 *Boys of nowadays... You wash yourself while sitting?*
141
142 Mkhulu uzohlala. Udlala um-China. UThoko ucula e-stage 'uS'dumo is good and nice'.
143 *Mkhulu will stay. He plays the Chinese. Thoko sings on stage 'S'dumo is good and nice'.*
144
145 Ke tlo o sheba, ke tlo o sheba
146 *I will look for you, I will look for you!*
147
148 Yoh! Ke ya Belinda
149 *Ho! It is Belinda*
150
151 Dlala eya!
152 *Play!*
153
154 Mini laba bathela.
155 *These ones are pouring*
156
157 Uyazi ukuthi ngithe ini isi-spray
158 *Do you know what I put in the spray?*
159
160 Ko ko! Angifuni never!
161 *Knock knock! I really don't want (ever)!*
162
163 Ha ke rotetse fatshe!
164 *Ha I pee on the floor!*
165
166 Hayi ko metsing a ka
167 *Not in my water!*
168
169 Yebathong'
170 *My gosh!*
171
172 Abafana ha!
173 *Boys, ha!*
174
175 O se ke o a dlala mentsing aa (SSoth.: metsing)
176 *You musn't play in that water*
177
178 Wo ushude
179 *Wait you must lock*
180
181 Kube i-phone yami kuyi-Blackberry
182 *If my phone were a Blackberry*
183
184 Wena kgole untso ridutha uri unali-Blackberry (dutha: origin unknown, possibly Eng.
doubt)
185 *You've been telling us lies, you have a Blackberry*
186
187 Bengidutha noma bengidlala

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Sotho Speaker: Female Topic: Role playing
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Sotho Speaker: Female Topic: Role playing
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Role playing
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Sotho Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Sotho Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Sotho Supervision: None
Location: Backroom To: Child same age
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female

188 *I was lying although I was joking*
189
190 Bengitshela ubabami *end'* bekabheke yimi
191 *I was telling my father and he was looking at me*
192
193 Lena ihlala ingithusa
194 *This one always scares me*
195
196 Uyabona ukuthi uyagula
197 *You see that you are sick!*
198
199 Hayi abafana kodwa
200 *Not only the boys!*
201
202 Tla ke bone Mondli
203 *Let me see Mondli*
204
205 Mina ngidlala i-Grand Theft
206 *I'm playing Grand Theft.*
207
208 Mondondo hobaneng o no ntsikinyetsa?
209 *Mondondo why were you tickling me?*
210
211 He la huhali ngwana
212 *Hey you there's a child there*
213
214 Sibahlalisile basihlalisile nabo. Kungcono ngoba izolo abasibonelanga. Babonele wena!
215 *We waited for them and they waited for us too. It's better because yesterday they didn't see us. They saw you naked!*
216
217 Iphi indwangu?
218 *Where is the towel?*
219
220 Aketholi tlo, kenotse Mondli
221 *I don't get it, let me ask Mondli*
222
223 Mongezi uyabiswa. Hahaha, ufihle indwangu
224 *Mongezi you're being called. Hahaha, you hid the towel*
225
226 Intse kiyibone
227 *Take it out so I can see it*
228
229 Ngizovela ku-eTV nawe
230 *I will appear on eTV and you too*
231
232 Unana bazomubonela (-mu- is Sotho. SZ: bazombonela)
233 *They will see the baby naked*
234
235 Hayi ngifuna ukufunda
236 *No I want to read*
237

Location: Backroom	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Female	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Female
Location: Backroom	Speaker: Female	
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Female	
Location: Backroom	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Female	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Female	
Location: Backroom	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Female	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Female	
Location: Backroom	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Female	
Language: Sotho	Speaker: Female	
Location: Backroom	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Female	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Female	Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Female	
Language: Sotho	Speaker: Female	
Location: Backroom	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Female	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Female	
Location: Backroom	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Female	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Female	
Location: Backroom	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Female	
Language: Sotho	Speaker: Female	
Location: Backroom	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Female	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Female	
Location: Backroom	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Female	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Female
Location: Backroom	Speaker: Female	
Mix: Insert Sotho	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Female	
Location: Backroom	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Female	

238 Engeke ilay'te manje iyolay'ta ebusuku uze loya '-Buyisizwe
239 *It won't light now. It will light at night, you must ask that Buyisizwe*
240
241 *That is why ingazwakali ayilay'tanga*
242 *That is why it's not coming, it didn't light*
243
244 Eyakho ilay'tile
245 *Yours lit on*
246
247 *Ilay'tile. U-pres-e lona*
248 *I did light. You must press here.*
249
250 Ne li nahona huri itlo lay'ta busiwu?
251 *Did you think that it would light at night?*
252
253 Ngicela i-Vaseline?
254 *Can I have some Vaseline?*
255
256 Uyabona ke? Uyabo' ke?
257 *Do you see now? Do you see now?*
258
259 Hayi uthe ngizokuhlalisa
260 *No she said I would sit with you*
261
262 NoBlue uzohlalisa wena Lerato!
263 *Blue too will sit with you Lerato*
264
265 Yo Pasop!
266 *Yo be careful!*
267
268 Anibonanga phakathi kwendlebe
269 *You (pl) didn't see behind the ear*
270
271 Mina naye sizomudla (SZ:sizomdla)
272 *Me and her we will eat her*
273
274 Wayishebela what? What? Gospel?
275 *You watch what? What? Gospel?*
276
277 Ngizokuthatha ngikushaye ngempama
278 *I will take you and hit you with a slap!*
279
280 Mangithi ngivula amehlo yoh!
281 *When I open my eyes yo!*
282
283 Ngiphe ikama
284 *Give me the comb*
285
286 Akakami
287 *She doesn't comb*

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: English Mix: Insert Iscamtho Speaker: Female
Language: Zulu Mix: Intrasentential Switch Supervision: None
Location: Backroom Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Sotho Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Afrikaans Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert Sotho Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: English Mix: Intersentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Sotho Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Backroom Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

288
289 Tlo hella ho e *foster* hela e fohj
290 *Stop forcing you'd rather forge it*
291
292 *One day, one day, foster o e fohj-e*
293 *One day, one day force you must forge it*
294
295 Hella Bofumo Bofumo butlo tsamaya
296 *Hey Burukgu Burukgu is going to leave*
297
298 Uyahleka hayibo KuShothi manje sekune-camera uyabona?
299 *You're laughing not at Shorty now, there is a camera you see?*
300
301 Angimubonanga nokumubona, azangengimebheke (SZ: angimbonanga)
302 *I did not see him, nor saw him, I never saw him.*
303
304 Yazibantu, ngincamile (SZ: eat before a journey, satisfy)
305 *You know people, I took a piss!*
306
307 Uyacula? No, no, no!
308 *Are you singing? No, no, no!*
309
310 Eish, eish, eish, eish!
311 *No, no, no...*
312
313 Ungayi-fohsti, i-fohj-e
314 *Don't force it, forge it!*
315
316 Ngizowacitha lamanzi
317 *I will spill this water!*
318
319 Thatha i-waslap
320 *Take the washing rag / face cloth*
321
322 O maaka...
323 *You are lying...*
324
325 'Thi ngibone
326 *Let me see*
327
328 Hayi voestek!
329 *No piss off!*
330
331 *End' uphuma igazi*
332 *And you're leaking blood*
333
334 O maaka...
335 *You are lying...*
336

Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Sotho Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Location: Backroom Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Language: English Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Location: Backroom Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Female
Language: Sotho Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None Topic: Technology
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female
Mix: Intersentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Backroom Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Sotho Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Sotho Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female

337 Uthi voetsek erecordini, usebhadini
338 *You say pis off in the recorder, you're in trouble*
339
340 Hayi usebhadini
341 *No you're in trouble*
342
343 Bayocala babuze ubaba ke ukuthi lomtwana wakho uyithathaphi intlamba engaka?
 origin unknow
344 *They will first ask your father, where does your child pick up swearing?*
345
346 Khona manje uyiitshintsha athi voestek.
347 *Now you change that you said piss off*
348
349 Uyacula
350 *You're singing (talking non-sense)*
351
352 Tlakiwuthuse
353 *Let me help you*
354
355 *End' bazositshela uyazi*
356 *And they will tell us you know.*
357
358 Nabazali bethu bazozwa ukuthi besikhuluma
359 *Our parents will know what we were speaking*
360
361 Uyacula!
362 *You're singing (talking non-sense)*
363
364 uMondli!
365 *Mondli!*
366
367 Nazokubuza? Angizwanga elasi
368 *They will ask you, I didn't get the last (part)*
369
370 Umama uzosibona
371 *You're mum will see us*
372
373 Mangipha esiskhipeni sakho
374 *When I give it it's your time to skip*
375
376 Hee NgiLetsatsi
377 *Hey I'm Letsatsi*
378
379 Uyacula!
380 *You're singing talking non-sense)*
381
382 Wena o a ithonkga
383 *You beat yourself up! (Lit.: you hurt yourself on a sore place)*
384

(intlamba:

Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Backroom Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Supervision: None
Location: Backroom To: Child same age
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Speaker: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Sotho Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Sotho Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age

385 Ngiyacela ngiphatise, ngiphatise, ngiphatise! Angifuni ukufana nabanikezelwa
386 *I ask dress me up, dress me up, dress me up! I don't want to look the same as beggars!*
387
388 Everyday hands up!
389
390 Awusemuhle mama.
391 *You're so beautiful mum*
392
393 Yini lena yi-phone
394 *What is this? Is it a phone?*
395
396 Cha akusiyi-phone. Yi-TV kanjani ingena i-camera
397 *Not it's not a phone. It's TV ut how does it get in the camera?*
398
399 Liyakufanela ne-shoht mtanami
400 *It looks nice on you these shorts my child*
401
402 Hambo thatha ikama
403 *Go take the comb*
404
405 Niyenzani ekamerini, niyenzani Kanyo? Khuluma lana, ka ha hayiboni.
406 *What are you doing in the bedroom, what are you doing Kanyo? Speak there, ho he doesn't see it.*
407
408 Yehlika, yehlika lana. Sukuma, woza lana Kanyo.
409 *Climb off, climb off down there. Stand up, come here Kanyo.*
410
411 Khuluma lana, bheka boy, bheka khuluma lana. Everybody hands up, ithi hello. Ninjani? Ngikhona, uyaphila, asambe
kena siyobhuza amanzi.
412 *Talk here, look boy, look speak here. Everybody hands up, it says Hello. How are you? How are you (pl.), you (sing.)*
are well, let's go drink some water.
413
414 Woza la, woza la, woza la, woza la. Uphinde uzela.
415 *Come here, come here, come here, come here. You must repeat that you come here.*
416
417 Thi ngimuphusize. Hamba uyobheka izicathulo kuyashisa phansi.
418 *Let me ask him. Go and fetch the shoes, it's hot on the floor.*
419
420 Uyaphi manje Learto? Njengoba bewuncinile, bewuncine kuphi alikuthandanga lekwerekwere lentombaza.
421 *Where are you going Learto? Since you braided, where did you braid (your hair)? She did not like you this time this*
foreigner (derogative)?
422
423 Bona motho ona o mo jele
424 *See this person fucked her*
425
426 Uyazi ukuthi uyazwalela eRecohdeni
427 *Do you know that it hears you in the recorder*
428
429 Ngiyazwakala?
430 *They can hear me? (I am audible?)*

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Female Supervision: Female To: Child same age
Location: Backroom Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Adult To: Adult To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female Topic: Technology
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Recorder
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Relative
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Supervision: Female
Location: Backroom To: Male
Mix: Insert English To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Female
Supervision: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Mother
Location: Backroom To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Relative
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Sotho Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult
Register: Vulgar Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child

431
432 Eya! Ubuso bakho bunentsila
433 *Your face has dirt on it*
434
435 Iyetswa kelitsatsi
436 *It's caused by the sun*
437
438 Usthasitse something?
439 *Did you apply something (on your face)?*
440
441 Unani ezinweleni
442 *What do you have on your hair?*
443
444 Ezinwele angicobisanga
445 *On my hair I didn't put anything*
446
447 Unemisiloha yenkani wena
448 *You have veins of struggling you*
449
450 Iphi? Ikuphi?
451 *Where? Where is it?*
452
453 Makaze ugogo wakhe azomulanda (SZ: azomlanda)
454 *Let her granny come and fetch her*
455
456 Bheki wawukela esi egwogweni, kwenzenya?
457 *Bheki you are awake at your granny's, what's wrong?*
458
459 Bheka wenzani?
460 *Look what you're doing*
461
462 Washa ithe obo hlatswa dieta
463 *You're burning, so come wash your shoes*
464
465 Yewena awuphuz' i-midradi!
466 *Hee you drink that Midrad!*
467
468 Kematla huja '-ice kediskebiwa '-Cold drink ena
469 *I want to eat ice Kidiskebiwa and this cold drink*
470
471 Ke bale ba ja di-ice. Yo uyajabula! Yini bayawadimanga?
472 *There they are eating ice. Yo you're happy. Why are they crushing it?*
473
474 Hha kwenzenja ongizwakalanga
475 *What happened, I couldn't hear it (it was not audible to me)*
476
477 Ngale ya ndaba, ungithuki
478 *With this thing, you don't surprise me*
479
480 Yaziz ongikaze ngimubukele Mama Jack. Letha, letha wuyelona uMama Jack!

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Sotho Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Sotho Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Sotho Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Intrasentential Switch Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Sotho Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Sotho Mix: Insert Sotho Speaker: Female
Language: Zulu Mix: Intersentential Switch To: Female
Location: Yard Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Adult Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age

481 *You know I never watched Mama Jack. Bring this thing, bring this is the one, Mama Jack!*
482
483 Mama Jack! Mama Jack!
484
485 uMama kaThutho uphizile. Uyazathe yonke.
486 *Thuto's mum is drunk. She took it all.*
487
488 *End' bathe bazosinika bathathe i-Sprite, baphuza eyethu.*
489 *They said they will come back and give us Sprite, and they drink ours*
490
491 Uyiphuze yonke umama kaThuto ngiyakutshela!
492 *She drank it all, Thuto's mum, I'm telling you.*
493
494 *Cooley ya rona i kaei?*
495 Our cold drink where is it?
496
497 O tshetse *Cold drink* e ne re ipeetseng yona
498 You drank the cold drink that we put aside for ourselves
499
500 Uthi nayi Dikaba
501 You say it is Dikaba
502
503 Bheka, bheka!
504 Look, look
505
506 *Next time ha re o fa cold-drink o e qete same time.*
507 *Next time when we give you cold drink, drink it (lit.: you should finish it) at once same time*
508
509 Bheka nje hambocela umama
510 *Look now go and ask mum*
511
512 Eish wena nami, ngicela ungangistresi, ngicela ungakhulumi. Ma ngifuna ukukhuluma ngiyi-one ngifuna nje ukukhuluma njengiyi-one. Akusiwubhuti zami uMlungisi awe ufuna ukuthi ubhuti wami uSteve uyacula uS'domo is good and nice uzodlaka k'sasa.
513 *Eish you and I, please don't stress me, please don't speak to me. When I talk I am (talk) alone. I want to talk alone. Mlungisi is not my brother, my brother is Steve, he sings Sdomo si good and nice, it plays tomorrow.*
514
515 Bathe ngizovela ku-eTV
516 *They said I will appear on eTV*
517
518 Ubheke mina ngamehlo oThemba
519 *She's staring at me Themba*
520
521 Wenzani Mimi? Yo, 'uyasuka'?
522 *What do you do Mimi? You went, 'move away'*
523
524 'Angizini Grandma, uyahleka. Enza lento bewuthi uyayiyenza'.
525 *What are you doing Grandma, you're laughing. Do that thing, you said you're doing it.*
526
527 *Hell, labantu bayabora*

Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Undertermined Register: Undetermined Speaker: Female Supervision: Female To: Female
Location: Yard Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Adult To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Sotho Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Sotho Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Sotho Mix: Intrasentential Switch To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu To: Female
Location: Street
Mix: Insert English
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Female
Supervision: None
To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female

528 *Hell, those people are annoying*
529
530 Ungasigwari ngale ‘mpembhedo wakho, please.
531 *Don’t tease us with those boring things, please.*
532 *(hetero-concordance ngale indicates something of Cl. 9, but wakho agrees with Cl. 3)*
533
534 Akumelanga ufake abantu abadala enkingeni ngoba sizoboshwa sonke, so kumele sihloniphane, please.
535 *You don’t have to put old people in trouble because we will be arrested, so we should respect, please.*
536
537 Asambeni ngifuna ukwazi ukuthile i-recohda. Iyayithile ngoba ngiyibona ithulile.
538 *Let’s go, I want to see if the recorder is on. It is off so because I can see it’s off.*
539
540 Liyekeni tuu (Afr. toe, sort of hortative clitic)
541 *Leave it please!*
542
543 Unamanga, ayilay’twanga kube beyilay’ta beyizozwakala. Ngifuna ukubona ukuthi uzoyenzani.
544 *You’re lying, it’s not lighting on if it was on we would hear it (it would be audible). I want to see what you will do to it.*
545
546 Beyilay’tile, beyizwakala
547 *If it was on, we would hear it*
548
549 Uyazizwa uyakhwehlela
550 *Can you hear yourself, you’re caughing*
551
552 Uthanda too much
553 *You love too much*
554
555 UThemba ugundile
556 *Themba did cut his hair*
557
558 Kumele uyithathe ngempama
559 *You have to take it with a slap*
560
561 Tsomolahla ice ewu
562 *Go and throw that ice*
563
564 Ha mama ungayithathi, umuthe mgempama Lerato asizinge
565 *No mum don’t take it, beat Lerato with a slap to make her go crazy*
566
567 Umubethe uyahleka
568 *Beat her, she is laughing*
569
570 Mpumi. Morning Bheki, morning Thuto.
571
572 Loyamlungu loya uzitshela ukuthi angikwazi, ukukhuluma isilungu.
573 *That White man there tells himself that I can’t speak English (litt: can’t speak White).*
574
575 Uyalazi igama lakhe
576 *Do you know his name?*

Location: Street Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Innovation Register: Iscamtho To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9
Location: Street Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Mix: Insert Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Sotho Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Relative
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult Topic: Recorder
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother To: Relative
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Adult To: Younger Child
Speaker: Adult Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Sotho Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: English Mix: Insert English Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Adult To: Child same age To: Your
Location: Backroom Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Female Supervision: Female To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Recorder
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother Topic: Recorder
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female

577
578 Cha angilazi. Ngiyovela ku eTV
579 *No I don't know it. I will switch on eTV*
580
581 Uyasala yazi
582 *you'll be left behind, you know.*
583
584 Thato uyile e-toilet
585 *Thato went to the toilet*
586
587 Angiyanga e-toilet
588 *I didn't go to the toilet*
589
590 Uyazi lama-chips ayangihlanyisa
591 *You know these snacks make me crazy*
592
593 Uthole **itshom'**
594 *He did find a friend*
595
596 Uyabona labantu laphaya amat**shomi** kaThuto
597 *You see these people they're Thuto's friends*
598
599 Asambeni phansi kwesihlahla. *Why bangasithengeli ama-ice?*
600 *Let's go and sit under the tree. Why don't we buy ourselves ice?*
601
602 Angeke abaze emuva komkhukhu (SZ: emva, in this case)
603 *They won't come behind the shacks*
604
605 Nizoyenza ukuthi basishaye. Nibonwe wubani wulomama. Umfazi kaMandla kugcono.
606 *You make them beat us. We were seen by by who, by this lady. Mandla's wife is better.*
607
608 Abafazi baveza izibunu
609 *Women show up their bottoms*
610
611 iRefresh ithengiswa kwaMakhenzi?
612 *They sell Refresh at MacKenzie's? (lit.: Refresh is sold...)*
613
614 Lerato uyaphi? Lerato!
615 *Lerato where are you? Lerato!*
616
617 Uzowa wena! Ufundisa uKufika *end'* uKufika wagibela lapha, uzozizwa.
618 *You will fall! You teach Kufika and Kufika will fall down here, you will hear of yourself (...will be in trouble).*
619
620 Bawubhekeni Lerato? Bengingabhekanga wena.
621 *What were you looking at Lerato? I wasn't looking a you.*
622
623 Bengibheke abomkhulu bami
624 *I was looking at my grand father and his friends.*
625

Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Recorder
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Innovation Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Street Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Female
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Street Speaker: Female
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Mother Topic: Trade
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult

626 Ntando udlala ngegey'di
627 Nthando is playing by the gate
628
629 Liphi lelakomishi owungikhele ngalo
630 Where is this mug you drew water with for me?
631
632 Mama uzolokhu ungiyenzise ama-up and down
633 Mum you will always keep making me go up and down (make me do up and downs)
634
635 Ngizokushaya, wena!
636 I will hit you!
637
638 Uyaphi?
639 where are you?
640
641 Mama ungincisha amanzi ceda uyawathatha
642 No mum you refuse to give me water then you take it
643
644 Heyi wena. Dankie. ngiyobheka la.
645 Hey you. Thanks. I am going to see here.
646
647 Kuyatshisa **tshomi** (SZ: kuyashisa, influence from Sotho)
648 It's hot buddy
649
650 Aya kawubona **tshomi** watshisa (SZ: washisa)
651 Hey you see buddy it's hot
652
653 Uthini lomtwana lona?
654 What this child saying?
655
656 Uwagazile amazinyo namuhla?
657 Did you brush your teeth today?
658
659 Ngena Kufika, uzozitshela ukuthi bekunjani
660 Enter Kufika, and tell us what it was
661
662 Mama ngiyakhombula ngobirthday kaVuyo si-swima singafuni ukuphuma
663 Mama I remember at Vuyo's birthday, we are swimming, we didn't want to go out.
664
665 Mama ngiyokhona ukudlalela phansi
666 Mum I can play here on the floor
667
668 Thuto ukhuluma isilungu
669 Thuto you speak English (you speak White)
670
671 Siphi lesiya?
672 Where is this thing?
673
674 Mama kuyabopha.

Language: Zulu Mix: Insert English Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Adult To: Adult To: Mother
Location: Yard Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Female Supervision: Female To: Female Topic: Parenting

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
Location: Yard Speaker: Mother
Mix: Insert Sotho To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Relative
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult

Language: Afrikaans Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: Adult
Register: Iscamtho Supervision: Female

Language: Sotho Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: Adult
Register: Iscamtho Supervision: Female

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
Location: Backroom Speaker: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Adult To: Younger Child

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Relative
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting

Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Adult To: Adult To: Mother
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female Supervision: Female To: Female Topic: Parenting

Language: Zulu Supervision: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Mother

675 Mum it is swelling
676
677 Ukhulile man?
678 Did you undress, man?
679
680 Ufana nobaba.
681 He is like dad
682
683 Bangawothathi ama-glass lawa
684 They musn't take these glasses
685
686 Wozani nizothatha i-coldrink
687 Come (pl) and take Cold Drink
688
689 Uyothulile i-ambrela
690 Did you find the umbrella?
691
692 Ubaba uyimoshile
693 Dad broke it
694
695 Athi uthatho uzokushaya
696 He said he will hit Thatho
697
698 Akakwazi ukukhuluma
699 He doesn't know how to talk
700
701 Ha a batle ho tswela ko sistrateng
702 He doesn't want to go on the streets
703
704 Thuto usala nami
705 Thuto you stay with me
706
707 Uzophula iglass
708 You will break the glass
709
710 Iphudini yami ikhulile
711 Where has my pudding gone out of control? (gone away)
712
713 Bheka inyama phayo yo yo yo yo yo
714 Look at the meat...
715
716 Umamela ngoMfundo yebo
717 You should listen to Mfundo, yes!
718
719 Ngisikhumbulile yebo! Ngiphathele yena
720 I did remember is yes! Bring it for me, you.
721
722 Bathi ngina-nine and ngina-seven years
723 They say I'm nine and I'am seven years old
724

Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Relative Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Female
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Elderly
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Supervision: Adult To: Female
Location: Backroom Supervision: Elderly Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Sotho Speaker: Elderly To: Relative
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Grand Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Elderly
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Location: Backroom Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Adult
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Elderly To: Mother
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Elderly
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Child same age
Location: Backroom Supervision: Adult To: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Elderly
Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female

725 Una-nine years
726 You're nine years old
727
728 Ha ngimfishane nakanje?
729 Ha I ma this small?
730
731 Uwathathaphi lamaswidi?
732 Where did you get these sweets?
733
734 KuMkhwezi
735 By Mkhwezi's
736
737 Uwisa isitoko sikamkhazi
738 You're taking Mkhozi's business out
739
740 Mama uThuto uthathe ama-chips womunye umtwana nama-Chepis
741 Mama Thuto took chips and Chappies from another child
742
743 Uyacula, hello baby! Amabokoto ami sewangcwele woyi-two
744 You're singing, hello baby! My pockets have worn out, both of them
745
746
747
748
749
750
751
752
753
754
755
756

(SZ: amaphoketi)

Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Female
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female Topic: Parenting
Location: Yard Speaker: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Female
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Trade
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female To: Younger Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Mother Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Female Topic: Trade
Speaker: Adult To: Relative
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Adult
Location: Yard Speaker: Female To: Female
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult To: Mother
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Female Topic: Trade
Language: Zulu
Location: Yard
Mix: Insert English
Mix: Insert Sotho
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Age 7-9
Speaker: Female
Supervision: Adult
Supervision: Female
To: Child same age
To: Female

001
002
003 Bheka wena, abantu bangena laphayana
004 *Look you, people are entering there*
005
006 Ihloboni, bangena laphayana, ihloboni Senzo? (SZ: *inhloboni*)
007 *What kind, they are entering there, what kind Senzo?*
008
009 AboLereko
010 Lereko and his friends
011
012 O a bona, ke tsele, O a bona, sheba.
013 *You see there they are, you see, look.*
014
015 Bheka lapha. Bheka isifahleko, yahaha (Sotho: *sefahleho*)
016 *Look there. Look at the face, yahaha*
017
018 Nawe, yeka Samukelo, nawe.
019 *You too, stop it Samukelo, you too.*
020
021 Junior *naughty* wena! Ha o re ke bone
022 *Junior you are naughty, let me see*
023
024 *Naughty* wena Katleho!
025 *You are naughty Katleho!*
026
027 Ningayibambi lento ekuKatleho, angithi Jabu. Naye angadlalidlali ngayo. *Ne magenge?* Ninga dlalel' elangeni.
028 *Don't (pl.) touch this thing that is on Katleho, alright Jabu? Even him he should not keep playing with it. OK*
029 *gangsters (guys)? Dont play in the sun.*
030 Kuyashisa la, bona.
031 *It's hot there, see.*
032
033 Lomkhulu angashaya lo Karabo. Lomkhulu angashaya bonke. Lomkhulu uzok'shaya Katleho.
034 *This old man can hit Karabo. This old man can hit them all. This old man will hit you Katleho.*
035
036 Mina ngingashaya yena
037 *Me I can hit him*
038
039 O re *la*, o re *la phela*?
040 *You say there, you say there really?*
041
042 Ubiza mina? Ngishaya ifis: pha, pha, pha...
043 *Are you calling me? I hit with the fist: pah, pah, pah*
044
045 Ay', uzoyishindja, uzoyishindja
046 *Ha, you will change it, you will change it*
047
048 Ulokhu uyetsa kaso
049 *You always move like that*

Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Child same age
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Male Supervision: Teenager
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Male
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Male
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5 To: Male
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5 To: Male
Mix: Insert Sotho Supervision: Adult Topic: Role playing
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Male
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Language: Sotho Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5 To: Older Child
Mix: Intersentential Switch Supervision: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Yard Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Yard To: Male
Mix: Insert English To: Younger Child
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Older Child
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Older Child
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5 To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Zulu Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5 To: Older Child
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5 To: Older Child
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Location: Yard Speaker: Male To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Under 5 To: Older Child

050
051 Ola **mzalas**
052 *Hi my friend*
053
054 Ola **Batzatzalas**
055 *Hi my friends*
056
057 Ola **batzalatzas**
058 *Hi my friends*
059
060 O se ke wa kena. Ke a o bulela
061 *Don't enter. I am opening for you*
062
063 Hey, iphi eyakho?
064 *Hey, where is yours?*
065
066 U-number 1. I'm number 2.
067 *You are number 1. I am number 2.*
068
069 Hey le-PlayStation le. Eplaystation yakaTeboho.
070 *Hey this PlayStation. It is Teboho's PlayStation*
071
072 Why lento leyo niyifakile?
073 *Why did you make that thing? (turn that thing on?)*
074
075 Angibasabi.
076 *I'm not afraid of them*
077
078 Yiphi enya? Ngidlala ngayo?
079 *Where is the one that shits (doesn't work)? I am playing with it? (talking about console control)*
080
081 Uyithi ntile, o a bona, o a bona. Ayeye. 'thi ntile.
082 *You touch it, you see them, you see them. Ouch. Touch it.*
083
084 Ufunani phela lapho.
085 *What do you want then there?*
086
087 Hlala phansi. Ha, ngiphedile. (-pheda: origin unknown, possily from Eng. 'bad')
088 *Sit down. Ha, I did wrong*
089
090 Ay' dula fatshe wena
091 *Ha sit down, you.*
092
093 UKatleho akahlali ngoba umuncani
094 *Katleho doesn't play because he is small*
095
096 Nayi eyami angeke ngikuboleke (instead of -bolekise. SZ: -bola 'to bore')
097 *This one is mine, I will never lend you.*
098

Mix: Transfer Supervision: Adult
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: English Mix: Intersentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Location: Backroom Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Technology
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Vulgar To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Sotho Mix: Intrasentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Mix: Intersentential Switch Speaker: Under 5
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: Zulu Supervision: None
Location: Backroom To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Speaker: Age 7-9
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child

099 Yeka ukukhoma nalento yesilence
100 *Stop coming with this silence thing*
101
102 Lereko! Ko mang, Lereko? **Stol, stol.**
103 *Lereko! From whom, Lereko? Don't go, don't go*
104
105 Ay', awudlal' **isitoli.** *Ya ko ntle.* Awudlal' **isitoli.**
106 *Ha, play the 'don't go'. Just go outside. Play the 'don't go'*
107
108 Udlala yini? Udlala *movie*?
109 *What are you playing? Are you playing a film?*
110
111 O a bona, o na tjho, ha o batle ke tshware nama.
112 *You see, were saying, you don ' t want me to hold the meat*
113
114 Uyabona uPhila unginike inyama.
115 *You see Phila gave me meat*
116
117 Dula fatshe Katleho. Etswa Katleho.
118 *Sit down Katleho. Get out Katleho.*
119
120 Ay, mina ngifela la. '-Yabona ke mang batlang ho ntsha?
121 *Ha me I am dying here. You see who wants to pay?*
122
123 Keng ntho ntho engwetsweng mo?
124 *What is that thing that is written here?*
125
126 Ko kae?
127 *Where is it?*
128
129 mo *gam-i*
130 *Here in the game*
131
132 Ko *gam-e.* Ha ke tsebe
133 *In the game? I don't know.*
134
135 Kwala monyako
136 Close the door
137
138 Mphe 'mazimba
139 *Give me the chips.*
140
141 Suka lapho Xolani
142 *Move away from here Xolani*
143
144 Haaha, ang'**doyanga**
145 *I did not loose*
146
147 Mina angikufuni wena.

Language: Innovation Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male Supervision: None To: Young Teenager
Location: House Speaker: Relative Supervision: Teenager Topic: Parenting
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Speaker: Under 5 To: Male
Register: Iscamtho Supervision: Male To: Relative
Language: Sotho Mix: Intersentential Switch Speaker: Young Teenager Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Location: House Speaker: Male To: Relative
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Speaker: Relative To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: House Speaker: Young Teenager To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Teenager
Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Speaking alone
Speaker: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Sotho Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Intrasentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Innovation Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Backroom Supervision: None

148 *Me I don't want you.*
149
150 Nami angikufuni
151 *Me too I don't want you*
152
153 So what? So what?
154
155 Angikhulumi nawe
156 *I am not speaking to you*
157
158 So what?
159
160 Angis' ungungani wakho. Angis' yi-Nkosi sikelela.
161 *I am no longer you ’ re friend. I am no longer ‘Nkosi Sikelela ’ (God bless)*
162
163 *Senem ya hao ke mang? Ke mang?*
164 *What is your surname? What is it?*
165
166 Mamba...
167
168 Yo, haha, *imbamba!*
169 *Haha the mamba!*
170
171 Yigama lakho endlung le?
172 *It is your home name this one, isn't it? (the name you use at home)*
173
174 Ubhala eyami.
175 *You write mine.*
176
177 Ungamutsheli. Ke tla o wisa (-mu- from Sotho, SZ: Ungamtsheli)
178 *Don't tell him. I will make you fall*
179
180 *Never ke we.*
181 *I won't fall*
182
183 Ngyokuphayisa. Ngyokuphayisa. Kubaba wami.
184 *I am going to tell on you. I am going to tell on you. To my dad.*
185
186 Ikuph' mali?
187 *Where is the money?*
188
189 Ikuph' mali?
190 *Where is the money?*
191
192 Hey **wena san**, imoto, imoto, hey **wena san**! Lalela la **son**... angyakudobi imali...
193 *Hey you boy, the car, the car, hey you boy! Listen here boy... I am not giving you money...*
194
195 Eish, ngifuna ilamba
196 *Ha, I want the jacket*

Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Under 5 To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Supervision: None To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Under 5 To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Supervision: None To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Sotho Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Undertermined Register: Undertermined Speaker: Under 5 To: Male Topic: Role playing
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Supervision: None To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Innovation Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert Sotho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: Sotho Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Intersentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Sotho Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Location: Yard Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Female
Location: Street To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Speaker: Adult Topic: Money
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Speaker: Male To: Female
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Speaking alone
Language: Zulu Speaker: Young Teenager
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Younger Child

197
198 Sheba!
199 *Look!*
200
201 uKananelo?
202 *Is it Kananelo?*
203
204 Tsam' o bitsa Thutso. (SSth: tsama o bitse)
205 *Go and call Thutso*
206
207 Thutso! O a o bitsa, Phila.
208 *Thutso! Phila is calling you.*
209
210 Enti ntate wa hae, o teng. O beze. Hei! mole ba a ntena mole.
211 *His father is there. He is busy. They are boring me there.*
212
213 Hei, O a nkgata. Ayeye O a phapha.
214 *Hey you are stepping on me. You're full of yourself*
215
216 Mazimba. Hay', hay', Mazimba, ayi-two. **Sharp.**
217 *Chips. No, no, chips, 2 of them. Thanks.*
218
219 Phila! Phila! Halleluyah!
220
221 N'qoshela lamazimba. Mina nginemali. Ngine-two randi futhi.
222 *I give you these snacks. Me I have money. I have too rand also.*
223
224 Nqogela mazimba. Ke ale mazimba ko Lereko.
225 *I give you these snacks. I got snacks from Lereko..*
226
227 Manje uthsela bani?
228 *Now whom are you telling?*
229
230 UPhila. AkuLereko. UPhila nawa. Nawa. Nawa, ngikubonise nawa.
231 *Phila. It is Lereko. There is Phila. Here, I showed you here.*
232
233 Hey wena Senzo. Nawa amapeks wakho.
234 *Hey you Senzo. Here are your pegs.*
235
236 Hey baba lento leyo, lento leyo eyami.
237 *Hey man that thing, that thing is mine*
238
239 Bona imali, Wandile. Nayi eyam' nayi la.
240 *See the money, Wandile. Here is mine, here it is.*
241
242 Imali yodaga
243 *Money of mud.*
244
245 Nayi la. Nay' imali.
246 *Here it is. Here is the money*

Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5 To: Young Teenager
Location: House Supervision: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Teenager
Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Young Teenager
Location: Street Supervision: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Teenager
Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Young Teenager
Location: Street To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Young Teenager
Speaker: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5 To: Young Teenager
Location: Yard Supervision: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Teenager
Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Speaking alone
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male To: Speaking alone
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Insert Zulu Supervision: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Teenager
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: Shop Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Trade
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Adult
Language: Undertermined Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Under 5 Supervision: Teenager To: Young Teenager
Location: Street Speaker: Male Supervision: Male To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Location: Street Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: Street Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Yard To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Speaker: Adult Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Older Child
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult Topic: Money
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult Topic: Money
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Money
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

247
248 Ae tlogela ho *thinda* hlogo ya ka, ‘*yabona*.
249 *Stop touching my head, you see.*
250
251 *Voetsek* umsunu wa hao!
252 *Piss off, you're clitoris (equivalent to 'you puss!')*
253
254 Ko *phayisa*. Ko *phayisa*. Plasi ko Tebza.
255 *I am going to tell on you. I am going to tell on you. And to Tebza (Teboho)*
256
257 Tsamaya!
258 *go*
259
260 E a o lekana *ne*? E a o lekana *ne*?
261 *It fits you, doesn't it? It fit you, doesn't it?*
262
263 Phila mazimba a ka a kae?
264 *Phila where are my snacks?*
265
266 O a jele
267 *You ate them*
268
269 Tsa maya o lo nka amang. Tsam' o nka ale.
270 *Go and take other ones. Go and take those over there.*
271
272 Yo, Wandile, uyabona uwisile.
273 *Yoh Wandile, you see you dropped it.*
274
275 Wandile, ke tla o fana le ditete
276 *Wandile, I will give you generously*
277
278 Thutso? We tsang?
279 *Thutso? What are ou doing?*
280
281 Keng Katleho?
282 *What is wrong Katleho?*
283
284 Wandile, se kae stocksweet sa ka?
285 *Wandile, where is my stocksweet?*
286
287 Ha se sa hao.
288 *It is not yours.*
289
290 Ke batla metsi, Lereko! Ke batla metsi.
291 *I want water, Lereko! I want water.*
292
293 Yarara! Angeke ngikuboleke
294 *Wahaha! I won't lend to you.*
295

Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: Sotho Mix: Intrasentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Location: Yard Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Mix: Insert Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Language: Undertermined Mix: Insert Zulu Supervision: None
Location: Yard Register: Vulgar To: Male
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Sotho Speaker: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Insert Zulu Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5 To: Young Teenager
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Relative
Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5 To: Relative
Location: House Supervision: Male To: Young Teenager
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Teenager Topic: Parenting
Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Young Teenager
Location: House To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Young Teenager
Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Sotho Speaker: Young Teenager
Location: House To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Older Child
Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5 To: Young Teenager
Location: House Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Teenager
Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child

296 Anginandaba
297 *I don't care*
298
299 Ufunani manje. Thando uyahamba? Uhamba nami? Uyaphi? Uhamba nami?
300 *What do you want now? Thando are you going? Are you going with me? Where are you going? Are you going with me?*
301
302 Lereko ke a tsamaya. O a tsamaya Thando.
303 *Lereko I am leaving. Thando is leaving.*
304
305 Ayi les'tayela bheka! Phila les'tayela ayi usibona?
306 *Ha this style, look. Look at this style, hey do you see it?*
307
308 Kukhona umuntu uze ngemoto, kukhona uze ngemoto?
309 *Did anyone come with a car, who came with a car?*
310
311 No! Ngizonidlalisa imoto ekuTriple-H. Ngiyibokele. EkuTriple-H. Uph' uPhila,uph' uPhila manje.
312 *You will make you play with the Triple-H car. I watched it. The Triple-H one. Where is Phila, where is Phila now?*
313
314 Mina ulande ngikuphe ifoni.
315 *Me you must fetch and I will give you the phone*
316
317 Hayi Katleho, akasekho uKatleho wakho.
318 *No Katleho, he is no longer there your Lereko*
319
320 He?
321 *Huh?*
322
323 Ngithi akasekho loLesego wakhe
324 *I say he's not here any more his Lesego*
325
326 Uyabona ngicinile la, ngiganda le-seretse la. Ngizokushaya. Wandile ufunani kithi?
327 *You see I am hard here, I step on mud here. I will hit you. Wandile what do you want in my house?*
328
329 Nayi imoto laphaya, land' imoto.
330 *There is a car there, fetch the car.*
331
332 Uthi imoto eyami iyiHummer
333 *he says my car there it' a Hummer*
334
335 Le 'nkulu?
336 *The big one?*
337
338 Yo, ilay'tile iTV. ‘-TVgame ikhona. Phuza amanzi Jabu.
339 *Yo, the TV is on. The TV game is here. Drink water Jabu.*
340
341 Unenkuku i-one angithi.
342 *You have one chicken, is it?*
343

Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Supervision: None
Location: Street To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Older Child
Speaker: Male
Speaker: Under 5
Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5 To: Relative
Location: Yard Supervision: Male To: Young Teenager
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Teenager
Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: Street Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 To: Male
Location: House Supervision: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Teenager
Speaker: Male To: Child same age
Language: Undertermined To: Male
Location: House To: Younger Child
Speaker: Male
Speaker: Young Teenager
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: House Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Young Teenager
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Insert Sotho Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Older Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male

344 Nayi uyayibona, isephokoteni?
345 *And this in my pocket, can you see it?*
346
347 Uzitshela ukuthi leyakhe, lekabani?
348 *He tells himself that it is his, whose is this?*
349
350 Yeka Piehlo nayi inkosi yakho. Ngiyadlala.
351 *It is Pierre's, that's your king. I am joking.*
352
353 Mina ngizowakhela ngapha, ngapha e-next door.
354 *Me I will pour it on this side, down there next door.*
355
356 Hai mina ngizowacitha... baba ngikhatelele ukuwasha
357 *I will spill the... baba I am tired of washing them*
358
359 Ngiyakuzwela uwashela ebakhedini.
360 *I feel (sympathize) for you, you wash in a bucket.*
361
362 Mina ngizowashela kulelili elekhulu
363 *Me I will wash my things in that big one.*
364
365 Anyeke ngikuboleke ifon', uyabona.
366 *I won't borrow you my phone, you see.*
367
368 He ke na taba
369 *I don't care*
370
371 Lomuntu lo!
372 *This person!*
373
374 Makaceda uyasikhalela, bese siyamushaya (SZ: siyamshaya)
375 *When he's finished he kicks us, then we beat him.*
376
377 Masimshayela uyakhala. Ulujwets' uPhila
378 *When we beat him he cries. He tells Phila*
379
380 Mxhoshe kini
381 *Chase him from your place*
382
383 Angeke ungingenise ejardi mina, angeke.
384 *You won't take me to my yard, you won't*
385
386 Yei, hamba la Katleho, hamba nxa! (ideophone, informal)
387 *Yei, go there Katleho, go shoosh!*
388
389 Dobani lezinto lezi
390 *Pick up this things*
391
392 Asinxanywa
393 *We don't want to*

Language: Zulu	Speaker: Under 5	Topic: Recorder
Location: Yard	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	
Speaker: Male	To: Older Child	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	Topic: Recorder
Location: Yard	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Younger Child	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Under 5	
Location: Yard	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	
Speaker: Male	To: Older Child	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male
Location: Yard	Speaker: Male	To: Older Child
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: Adult	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	Supervision: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	To: Younger Child
Location: Yard	Supervision: Adult	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	Supervision: Male	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Under 5	To: Male
Location: Yard	Supervision: Adult	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	Supervision: Male	
Speaker: Male	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Under 5	To: Male
Location: Yard	Supervision: Adult	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	Supervision: Male	
Speaker: Male	To: Child same age	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	To: Older Child
Location: Backroom	Speaker: Under 5	
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	
Language: Sotho	Speaker: Male	
Location: Backroom	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Younger Child	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Backroom	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Backroom	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Child same age	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	To: Older Child
Location: Backroom	Speaker: Under 5	
Mix: Insert English	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Backroom	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	
Speaker: Age 7-9	To: Younger Child	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Under 5	
Location: Backroom	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	
Speaker: Male	To: Older Child	
Language: Zulu	Speaker: Male	
Location: Backroom	Supervision: None	
Register: Local Variety - Neutral	To: Male	

394
395 Angeke ngikhupe istokswidi, yehee...
396 *I won't give you my lollypop yehee..*
397
398 O re eng?
399 *What are you saying?*
400
401 Angikhulumi nawe. Ng'khuluma.
402 *I don't talk to you. I talk.*
403
404 Nali ihlanya liyazicucela
405 *Here is a madman singing for himself*
406
407 Let's go to playstation.
408
409 Mina ngizodlala?
410 *Will I play?*
411
412 Akadlali uKatleho
413 *Katleho is not playing*
414
415 Ngizodlala, Wandile yekhela
416 *I will play, stop it Wandile.*
417
418 Yeke la Wandile. Awukwazi ukufaka i-Playstation
419 *Stop it Wandile. You can't start the playstation.*
420
421 Mina ngizodlala. Yo udlala le? Yo!
422 *Me I will play. wow, you play this one? Wow!*
423
424 Kubalweni la Katleho
425 *What's written here Katleho*
426
427 Kuphi la? La? *Four, two double two, one plus one.* Hoho...
428 *Where, there? There? four, two double two, one plus one.* Hoho
429
430 One
431
432 Prese negiya
433 *You should press the gear*
434
435 Prese negiya
436 *You should press the gear*
437
438 Yo Jabu, ayisasebenzi lento lena.
439 *Yo Jabu, it is no longer working*
440
441 Kudlala leli, leli liyathusa, uyalibona? Ya ayingeni.
442 *Here is this one, this one is scary, do you see it? Yo, it doesn't enter.*
443

Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Child same age Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Intersentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Age 7-9 Supervision: None To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

444 Wakakaka! Yangena
445 *Wakakaka! It is entering*
446
447 *Sheba* liyathusa Katleho
448 *Look it is scary Katleho?*
449
450 Wosubona Junior, *shit*, amak**gata** ayasigijimisa, *shit*!
451 *Come and see junior, shit, police are chasing us, shit.*
452
453 Faka leli elithuswayo
454 *Put that scary one*
455
456 Akusi yilo
457 *It is not this one*
458
459 Yi vidiyo.Yimuvi le, ye Jabu?
460 *Is it a video, is it a movie, ye Jabu?*
461
462 Ngiyalithanda lena uyabona le?
463 *I like this one, you see this one?*
464
465 Hlala phantsi Jabu!
466 *Sit down Jabu*
467
468 Mina angihlali phantsi
469 *Me I don't sit down*
470
471 Jabu lenza
472 *Jabu do it*
473
474 Ya iyadray'va Jabu
475 *Yes, he's driving Jabu*
476
477 Ufey'vela yiphi imoto, ngisha uKatleho
478 *you favour (prefer) which car, I am asking Katleho*
479
480 Mina, mina... Ngifey'vela le.
481 *I, I... I prefer this one*
482
483 Iyami
484 *It's mine*
485
486 Iyakho inuka amakaka imbi. Yaka inhle.
487 *Yours is smelling shit it is ugly. Mine is nice.*
488
489 Athi impe, ath' ikoloyi impe
490 *He says it is ugly, he says the car is ugly.*
491
492 Ufeyivela yiphi Katleho?
493 *You favour which one)the one that is where) Katleho?*

Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Sotho Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Mix: Intrasentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Register: Iscamtho To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Location: Street Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None

494
495 Le ke **sekoroko** (from Eng. *crock*)
496 *This one is a poor car*
497
498 Ngiwinile Katleho, indaba engiyaziyo.
499 *I won Katleho, that's the story I know.*
500
501 Mina ngizodlala
502 *I will play*
503
504 O lo *jampa*, ha ke re. Yini *o tla* shaya ke
505 *You will jump, won't you, what is wrong you will hit then*
506
507 Ke bule mazimba, *shem!* o tlo nkwalla a, o jele mazimba. Ke tlo a topa. *Sis* o ithuta mokgwa o mobe o ithuta mokgwa
o mobe ke tle ke dope mazimba. Uyabona, hmmm, *this time* o topa eng dichips. (*topa: origin unknown*)
508 *I should open the chips, shame! He will stop me, he eats the chips. I will pick them up, jeez, you are teaching yourself*
bad manners. I will pick up chips. Do you see, hmmm, this time you pick up chips.
509
510 O kae Lereko?
511 *Where is Lereko?*
512
513 Ha ke tsebe
514 *I don't know.*
515
516 Ke se sponshj' se. Ha ke re o bofile ntho e Lereko.
517 *Here is the sponge, Lesigo has tightened it up, not so?*
518
519 Ufuna yini wena, ufuna ikhekhe?
520 *What do you want, you want cake?*
521
522 Ke lomilwe ke dinotshi, ke lo sheba Lereko nna. ke lo mo sheba.
523 *I'm being bitten by bees, I'm going to look for Lereko. I'm going to look for him.*
524
525 Nna ke lo sheba skuta, see kole ko C, se ka kwa *next door* ko tayereng. O tle le tse 2 baba. *Shit* o tle le tse 2.
526 *I'm going to look for a motorbike which is there at (house number) C. It is there next door inside the tyre. You should*
bring two, man. Shit, bring two.
527
528 Ke segangeng mole ke tlo ya *cresh* ka hosane... (SZ: *esigangeni* 'in the dirty field')
529 *It's a dirty field over there. I'm going to creche tomorrow*
530
531 *Sharp.* Ke lo batla Jabu
532 *OK. I'm going to look for Jabu*
533
534 Wena ko Teboho awufile, yeh ha... Kwa ko Khenza (Khenza: *nickname of White City,*
from Cancer City)
535 *You at Bongani's place you didn't die/ you aren't dead, yeh ha... he's from White City*
536
537 Hahaha, o e i otlwile wowowo
538 *Did you hear?*

Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert Iscamtho Supervision: None
Register: Iscamtho To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Sotho Mix: Intersentential Switch Speaker: Under 5
Language: Zulu Mix: Intracentential Switch Supervision: None
Location: Yard Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Speaking alone
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Language: Sotho Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: None
Mix: Insert English To: Speaking alone
Mix: Intersentential Switch Topic: Role playing
Mix: Intracentential Switch
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male
Location: Yard To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Speaker: Adult
Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5 To: Male
Location: Yard Supervision: Adult
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Male
Speaker: Male To: Adult
Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Speaking alone
Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Speaking alone
Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Speaking alone
Speaker: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Mix: Insert English To: Speaking alone
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Male
Language: Sotho Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Speaking alone
Location: Yard Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Insert Zulu Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Speaking alone
Speaker: Male Topic: Role playing
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Mix: Intersentential Switch To: Speaking alone
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Topic: Role playing
Language: Sotho Speaker: Young Teenager Topic: Parenting
Location: House To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Relative
Speaker: Male To: Younger Child

539
540 E kae?
541 *Where is it?*
542
543 wowo, you know it
544
545 Sheba Lereko sheba. Wowo, you know it!
546 *Look Lereko look. Wow you know it*
547
548 wowowowo
549
550 You know it!
551
552 He Lereko o entseng? O entseng ye Lereko mo, mo tafoleng?
553 *Lereko what did you do? What did you do on the table?*
554
555 Ke Jabu
556 *It's Jabu*
557
558 Ooh, ntho e ha e sebetse
559 *Wow, this thing is not working.*
560
561 O tjho eng
562 *What are you saying?*
563
564 Ke tjho radio
565 *I mean the radio*
566
567 Ho tjho mang?
568 *Who is saying?*
569
570 O tjho nna
571 *I (emph.) am saying so*
572
573 Iph' eyakho? ngishaya impempe. Ngishaya impempe. Ngishaya impempe hay. *Sho boy, sho boy...*
574 *Where is yours? I am blowing (hitting) a whistle. I am blowing a whistle. I am blowing a whistle. Right boy, right boy...*
575
576 *Oyidlala kanjani le? Ye Jabu?*
577 *Wow, do you play this thing ye Jabu.*
578
579 Kubuhlungu la
580 *It hurts here*
581
582 Bayayimosha
583 *They damage it.*
584
585 Ah kubuhlungu la... Jabu! Jabu!
586 Ah, it hurts here... Jabu! Jabu!
587

Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5 To: Young Teenager
Location: House Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Teenager
Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Young Teenager To: Younger Child
Location: House Speaker: Male To: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Teenager Topic: Parenting
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male To: Male
Location: House Speaker: Under 5 To: Relative
Mix: Intersentential Switch Supervision: Male To: Young Teenager
Language: Undertermined Speaker: Male To: Male Topic: Parenting
Location: House Speaker: Young Teenager To: Younger Child
Language: English Register: Local Variety - Neutral Speaker: Under 5 Supervision: Teenager To: Young Teenager
Location: House Speaker: Male Supervision: Male To: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5 To: Young Teenager
Location: House Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Teenager
Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: Sotho Speaker: Young Teenager
Location: House To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Parenting
Location: House Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Young Teenager
Language: Sotho Speaker: Young Teenager
Location: House To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Younger Child
Speaker: Male Topic: Parenting
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male To: Male Topic: Technology
Location: House Speaker: Under 5 To: Relative
Mix: Insert English Supervision: Male To: Young Teenager
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Teenager Topic: Parenting
Language: Sotho Speaker: Young Teenager Topic: Parenting
Location: House To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Relative
Speaker: Male To: Younger Child
Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5 To: Young Teenager
Location: House Supervision: Male Topic: Parenting
Register: Local Variety - Neutral Supervision: Teenager
Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: English Speaker: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Mix: Intersentential Switch To: Male
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child

588 Jabu! Ngicela ungibegele lento...

589 Jabu! *Please install this thing for me.*

590

591 Iyadlala lento leyo

592 *This thing is playing*

593

594 Ithi ngiwapake kahle wena awupake kabi.

595 *Let me pack them properly, you just packed them wrong*

596

597 *Peka* kahle yo Wandile

598 *Pack properly* yo Wandile

599

600 Anyeke ungipakise

601 *You won't help me to peck*

602

603 Mina ngizokupakisa

604 *I will help you pack*

605

606 Ijimaphi le *white* jimaphi *white*. Playstation le ingaka ingaka *so* ithi, ah, ithi ahahahah.

607 *Where does this white train go (run), where does this white train go like this? Say ah, say ahahahah*

608

609 UJohn Seana uyeza, John Seana ah, *san...* ha... *usharp sharp.*

610 *John Seana is coming, John Seana ah, boy... ha... are you ok?*

611

612 Sicamile Jabu

613 *We just peed Jabu*

614

615 *Jesis uyihambile voetsek!*

616 *Jesus, he is holding him piss off!*

617

618 Ohoh, Khuluma nami uthi. Bakithi bakithi phuma lapho.

619 *Are you speaking to me? You're saying they are in my place, they're in my place, get out of here!*

620

621 Asiyobonani inyoni

622 *Let's go and see a bird*

623

624 Yinyoni yam' le yinyoni yam'

625 *This is my bird, this is my bird*

626

627 Ha, Angithi *ke* nyoni yethu

628 *Hah, you know it is our bird*

629

630 Hi tsuonyana le tsuonyana nka

631 *Chick eat, chick take.*

632

633 Kucishe langi luma

634 *It almost bit me*

635

636 Ithi so, ithi so, ithi djope djope!

637 *Say like, say like, say djope djope*

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Technology
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: Backroom Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Technology
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male

Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Mix: Insert English Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Technology
Mix: Transfer Supervision: None

Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5 Topic: Sport
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child

Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Backroom Speaker: Male Topic: Sport
Mix: Insert Afrikaans Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Backroom Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child

Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Male To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child

Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Sotho Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male

Language: Sotho Speaker: Under 5
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Male To: Male

Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child

Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age

638
639 Yikulumile? Yikulumile?
640 *Did it bite you?*
641
642 Ngizokupayisa
643 *I will tell on you*
644
645 Suka lapho. Ngifuna ukulishaya ngentloko.
646 *Move from here. I want to hit it with my head*
647
648 E tlo *fa* futhi he... he...
649 *It will die*
650
651 Tshela mo. Nay' imali
652 *Pour here. here is the money.*
653
654 Nonyani *inesidsa* sheba (SZ: *isitsha*)
655 *And the bird has a plate, look*
656
657 Inesidsa *shit!*
658 *He has a plate, shit, look.*
659
660 Ubonile igazi lesula kanjani? E le bolaile. Funda
661 *You saw how it wipes the blood? It killed it. Learn*
662
663 Manje bathenge *itsuonyana*
664 *Now they have bought a baby chicken.*
665
666 Ma ngingakhafulela *itsuonyana* uzongipayisa?
667 *If I spit on the baby chicken will you tell on me?*
668
669 Nangu uPhila. Ngimutshela
670 *Here is Phila, I will tell on you*
671
672 Nge tlo mo jwetsa hore uyenzi Phila
673 *I will tell him what you did to it Phila*
674
675 Phuma nje, nimbegile? Phuma nje. Nithelile?
676 *Get out, did you water him (pour on him). Get out. Did you pour (the water)?*
677
678
679
680

Speaker: Male To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Speaking alone
Speaker: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Sotho Mix: Intrasentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Location: Yard Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Mix: Insert Zulu Speaker: Male
Language: Sotho Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Intersentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Sotho Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Younger Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Male
Mix: Intrasentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Insert English Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Sotho Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Intersentential Switch Supervision: None
Language: Zulu Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Insert Sotho Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu Speaker: Age 7-9 To: Male
Location: Yard Speaker: Male
Mix: Insert Sotho Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Child same age
Language: Zulu Speaker: Under 5
Location: Yard Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Language: Sotho Speaker: Male To: Older Child
Location: Yard Speaker: Under 5
Mix: Insert Zulu Supervision: None
Register: Local Variety - Neutral To: Male
Language: Zulu
Location: Yard
Register: Local Variety - Neutral
Speaker: Male
Speaker: Under 5
Supervision: None
To: Male
To: Older Child